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INTRABLOC

CEMA Session Results, Integration Problems Viewed

26000499 Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish
No 20, 16 Jul 88 p 13

[Article by Jerzy Kleer: "A Limited Compromise: The 44th CEMA Session"]

[Text] A careful reading of the final communique published following the 44th CEMA session in the Prague warrants two conclusions: First, the conference participants were in accord on a critical appraisal of the operation so far of this integration grouping. For the communique contained the sentence, "The economic cooperation of the CEMA countries does not as yet properly promote a greater effectiveness of their economy." Second, no decision was taken on changing the operating mechanisms of the grouping. The passage in the communique concerning the economic mechanism abounds in generalities and contains few specific references which, I believe, satisfy no one. It is thus worth quoting: "The Council's session approved proposals for a gradual restructuring of the mechanism of multilateral cooperation and socialist economic integration and of the activities of CEMA. It was emphasized that improvements in the mechanism of cooperation should be gradual, in measure with the maturing of domestic and external relations, with allowance for the interests of the CEMA countries and for the work they conduct regarding the streamlining of domestic economic mechanisms."

A radical restructuring of the economic mechanism within the integration grouping has once more been postponed, for the second time. Optimists had thought already a year ago that the 43rd Session would take some binding decisions, and a year later, they thought this would happen now. As can be seen, these hopes were excessive. This does not surprise me personally. It could not be otherwise in a situation in which the operating systems of economies and forms of management in the individual member countries are so different. For in some of these countries the market forces and their laws matter little as allocation mechanisms, while in others they are ascribed a great if not fundamental importance. If we compare the systems of economic management in Romania and the GDR, on the one hand, and in Hungary and Poland on the other, with the concepts of such systems in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia, which occupy an intermediate position, it becomes obvious that finding a common denominator was virtually impossible. Thus there remain only possibilities for compromise solutions referring to the need to improve mechanisms which, I believe, can hardly be improved and need rather to be fundamentally changed.

In its practice so far CEMA has been and is an economic organization representing the transmission to an outside forum of only those mechanisms and objectives which

are considered proper in the economies of the discrete countries. Since the systems of internal relationships differ in the different countries, and since the criterions for appraisals, the shaping of domestic prices, and the degree of enterprise autonomy also differ, it is difficult to expect of a multilateral economic organization lacking its own independent functions that it operate harmoniously and effectively. CEMA at present reflects a system of differentiated objectives and different economic mechanisms in discrete countries. It operates rather by force of tradition, on the basis of institutional solutions engendered at a time when one and the same economic model had been binding upon all these countries. The advantages of such cooperation are, as has already been repeatedly emphasized, limited, with the barriers to it being erected by the countries which are the least prepared for such cooperation in the sense of progressive changes in their systems of economic management.

It is thus no accident that such an important problem as the creation of an integrated market of CEMA countries, referred to and presented in a theoretical outline by Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner at the session, was in no way reflected in the final communique. Still, it should be added that many chairmen of delegations, including the USSR Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov, perceived the relevance, importance, and need for such a creation. Prime Minister Ryzhkov even declared, "To us, the integrated market is not a fashionable buzzword but an important direction of development of the integrative process."

A common market of CEMA countries is needed not only for an improved exploitation of the existing economic potential, and not only as a way of alleviating the vast technology and infrastructure gap compared with the countries of the West, but also as a necessity in view of the already looming integrated European economic community scheduled in 1992. For the time being, CEMA is not prepared to respond to this coming, new, and portentous development. The policies so far of the discrete CEMA countries have been uncoordinated, and their consequences, different as they may be in the individual countries, are rather inadequate. There was not, and still is not, a common policy.

So far, the countries in which the process of reforming the domestic economy is more advanced, have been trying to explore better solutions in their bilateral relations. For the starting premise is that, if not everybody can be satisfied, then at least solutions satisfactory to some have to be explored. To be sure, in a way this does not promote [multilateral] integration, but this may be the only road toward genuine rather than, as at present, formal integration.

ALBANIA

Current Situation of Literature, Arts
21000018 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian
13 Mar 88 p 3

[Article by Dritero Agolli: "Artistic Culture in the Enrichment of Social Thought"]

[Text] Literature and the arts have become a wide field of values and are transformed into a fully artistic culture, a culture which, the more it develops, the more it influences the enrichment of the socialist thought of the people and the formation of the world view of mankind. This artistic culture does not stand detached and apart like an island in itself; on the contrary, it is in close relationships and cooperates with the political, moral, and world view culture, becoming a factor of great importance in approaching the people engaged in physical and mental work, in the union, unity, and mobilization of the broad working masses in all political, economic, and social activities for the building of socialism.

The relationships and cooperation of artistic culture with all the components of our socialist culture have influenced the continuing improvement of its qualitative level from decade into decade, enriching itself in thoughts, in topics, in problematic issues and, at the same time, detaching itself from descriptiveness and provincial and folkloristic manner of writing. The changes in life, the birth and development of cities, the technical and scientific revolution and the progress of society have brought not only new subjects, but also new words and new presentations. It is the great pressure of life that has urged the literary and artistic process to move forward on a broad front both in quantity and in quality.

A great army of writers and artists deal with the arts—an army of a new type, simple and from the people, living like all the working people of the country, without forming any special stratum of people with extraordinary claims and far away from the possibilities of social life. We would seek the highest quality of artistic culture precisely, first of all, in the higher level of awareness and of moral virtues of the honest people of this culture formed in the period of socialist civilization.

However, in order that cooperation of artistic culture be closer in one front with our national culture and be in a position to give greater results, influencing the enrichment of the social thought of the people and their comprehensive education, we demand that it further improve its qualitative level in order to learn better and in a more creative way from the people. And, we want this qualitative level to increase, to a wider extent, the creativity of writers and artists, not only in the artistic production of some authors or only in some types and kinds of art.

In the techniques of industrial constructions, our masters and creators are building works on a world level, quality-wise. The dams of the hydroelectric power stations at Fierze and Koman, are indicators of high culture. At the same time, somewhere we also build an ugly house, just as we create—alongside a novel or film with respectable values—some banal prose, a vulgar drama. It is necessary to fight all the time against this coexistence of high culture with non-culture. But, unfortunately, we are surrounded by this phenomenon and sometimes we fall into a rut with the daily routine.

Some low levels have recently been observed in the great creative process; they should not have happened. Thus, while the film in general has an acceptable cultural level, the theater, including the variety theater, are of a lower quality, with emphasized indications of schematism and lack of artistic ability. They are the same writers and artists who create the film dramas, the theater dramas, the prose and poetry. It is paradoxical that drama should be at a level that leaves so much to be desired. The reasons for the backwardness must be sought, first of all, in the work of dramatists or writers; but, we cannot exclude weaknesses in the organization and management of theaters. The theater has suffered from many administrative controls, has suffered from many directors who were far removed from the sphere of art, and has suffered from the lack of producers. Slowly and, without knowing, they [the abovementioned] have helped form a routine, discouraged the good writers, and encouraged the ordinary artisans to approach the theater. Now the excessive controls have been removed, while the leading cadre of theater remains. In the 10 drama theaters, none of the directors are from the people of the sphere of artistic culture; they come from offices of the state apparatuses. It is the same as if a mechanical engineer is named director of a hospital. It seems that writers, journalists, or even those who deal with literature in the districts are considered as too unreliable and liberal to manage a theater! We come to the conclusion that sometimes the organization and management form a routine which, later, you need much effort to abolish and get rid of.

Organization and management are indispensable not only for the drama and broad demonstrations of creativity but for all artistic culture. We say this because, unfortunately, in some districts little attention is given to artistic culture by the leading cadre. For example, Dhimiter Shuteriqi went to Skrapar in December of last year with a group from the Union of Writers and Artists and gathered there the creative forces to discuss the issues concerning culture and the arts. No secretary from the party committee and no deputy chairman from the District Executive Committee condescended to attend the meeting, with the exception of an instructor. The secretaries may not be there, but what about the deputy chairmen of the executive committee? Therefore, this makes you think that when the cadres of a small district do not go to meet a distinguished personality of culture, what would they do about meeting a new local writer?

Greater professional culture is demanded from writers, in addition to drama, in other genres of arts such as criticism, poetry, opera, and ballet, without mentioning songs and light music. Because of weaknesses in the culture of creators there are disproportions in creativity. For example, they compose many poems. In the literary production of 1987, we had 48 volumes of poetry and 27 volumes of prose. In spite of our respect for the value of poetry, this disproportion makes it monotonous and impoverishes the literary life of the country. With the predominance of poems you cannot have a complete picture of the era of socialism regardless of the value of this poetry. This disproportion must be the concern of the "Naim Frasheri" Publishing House and the Committee of Culture and Arts, in addition to our literary organs in the Union of Writers and Artists. This disproportion also comes from the insufficient literary culture of authors and editors.

However, the culture of writing begins with the compositions in school and goes as far as lessons at the university. There, especially at the university, the theatrical materials of literature, which are the basis of artistic culture, are of a low level, full of phraseology and incomprehensible tautology with a boring language which sends you away terrified.

Literary criticism, too, which must be orientating and educating for the writer, artist, and reader, apart from other things, suffers from an insufficient professional culture. It is often global, phraseology without concrete analysis and synthesis and with general applications. In many cases it does not teach anything new to writers, readers, and art lovers. After doing and undoing things, it starts twisting all the terms in turn such as "typical," "individual," "contradiction," "positive hero," "the reflection of objective reality," and gets lost in the bushes of phraseology. Then, this criticism starts distributing the same commendations to all in a "democratic" manner, equalizing the intellectual values and the personalities of these values.

On the other hand, writers and artists also have their responsibility in regard to this equalization. Often, they all run to enter, by force, the doors of this immortal temple; and you must be a gladiator in order to succeed in this tide of people.

On the basis of this reality of criticism and creativity, Comrade Ramiz Alia, at the Fifth Plenum of the Party Central Committee, correctly drew attention to the dangerous manifestation of the equalization of values and personalities. We, at the Union of Writers and Artists, where this phenomenon is widespread in the newspaper DRITA, the review NENTORI, and in reports and lectures of our plenums, must never allow the leveling of values because this harms artistic culture and paves the way for euphoria.

To remove criticism from backwardness, we must train young critics to have a new spirit and an innovative observation of the issues of the literary and artistic process. Efforts are being made to train young critics. Post-university courses of 2 to 3 years have been organized, but they were not effective because the knowledge was presented superficially and with known stereotyped formulas. Other more profitable formulas must be found. Perhaps the attachment of young critics to the daily press and literary periodical editorial staffs, where training seminars would be organized, would be a more suitable form.

In order to improve the level of artistic culture and to ensure the cultural formation not only of critics, but also of writers, time has come to have more theoretical publications from progressive world literature, publications of well-known estheticians and theoreticians on issues of artistic creativity, including music and figurative arts. We have a publishing house specializing in Marxist, scientific, and cultural publications—the "8 November" Publishing House. While good work has been done in translating and publishing Marxist literature, the credit for this does not belong to the "8 November" Publishing House, but to the Marxist-Leninist Institute; and the publication of cultural works has been very slow.

The education and formation of the new creative forces is the problem not only of some cultural institutions and of the Union of Writers and Artists, but also of the party organizations because they are the continuers of artistic culture and of the enrichment of the social thought of our people in the future. Here, a slightly amazing phenomenon appears. In some great cities and districts, such as Tirana, Shkoder, Elbasan and Korce few writers are formed and few leading cadres of artistic culture are trained. Here are some examples: In the past, 10 years more than 50 percent of the press cadres of the Union of Writers and Artists came from small districts and areas such as Perment, Kukes, Tropoje, Biliشت, and Lezhe. Also, more than 60 percent of the scenario writers at the Film Studio came from Erseke, Tepelene, Tropoje, Kavaje, and Puke. More than 99 percent of the workers of the aesthetic studies sector attached to the Academy of Sciences came from Gjirokaster, Sarande, Peqin, and Kavaje. About 50 percent of the newspapermen on ZERI I RINISE are from Tepelene, Lezhe, and elsewhere. The large districts such as Tirana and those mentioned above have the majority of technical-cultural, scientific, and musical cadres; while they have not trained their literary cadres up to the level of the former. Is it a problem of the schools, or a problem of less concern for this kind of cadres?

The broad cultural training of the forces that enter into literature and arts today is of special importance. These forces will accomplish the harmonic development of all functions of art: the functions of knowledge, education, communication, aesthetics, and entertainment. Without culture in these functions we would have disproportions

as happens sometimes. Thus, while we give importance to the function of education, we undervalue the function of entertainment which demands skill and culture: otherwise, the work, novel, drama, or film become boring. And, sometimes requests are more often made for the educational function, insisting that a literary work should solve all political, social, ideological, and historical matters which should not touch or offend any kind of social stratum.

The level of artistic culture and the level of cultural formation of its creators and leading cadres has the possibility and conditions to be elevated to a higher level. Such culture would enable people to go deeper into life in order to judge in a creative manner the historical past and the present historical reality in the service of solving the problems concerning the present and future.

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POLAND

POLITYKA Weekly News Roundup

26000430a Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish Nos 23, 27, 28, 29, 30; 4 Jun, 2, 9, 16, 23 Jul 88

[No 23, 4 Jun 88 p 2]

[Excerpts]

National News

The Sejm met. The deputies critically judged the government's execution of Sejm resolutions of 1983 on health protection and social services. They also evaluated government reports on the implementation of the law on environmental protection and development: it is essential to integrate fully all of the ecological and economic goals in the economy. They also unanimously adopted a law on a Lenino Battle Cross. It will be given exclusively to participants in this battle, including posthumously. They also accepted a law changing the law on prices (it is to facilitate, among other things, setting free prices regulated by supply and demand). The minister of justice presented proposed changes in some of the provisions of the criminal law and in the laws on misdemeanors.

The deputies addressed three questions to Minister J. Bilip. 1. Would it be possible to dispense rationed gasoline into gasoline cans without the need to drive one's car to the station? No, this would contribute to speculation. 2. What about a license to produce a car for the Automobile Factory? Since 1987 negotiations with Fiat and Daihatsu have been underway; the former has made a new offer; technical negotiations with the second have been completed, but there is no Japanese agreement to a credit guarantee. Prior to the final decision, the appropriate Sejm commissions will render opinions of the project to purchase a license. 3. What will the authorities decisions be with respect to the bankruptcy and inability to get credits of the Lenin Shipyards in

Gdansk? The option of limiting or entirely ceasing production in one of the four largest shipyards is being considered. The minister will present the appropriate proposals to the Government Presidium by 30 June 1988.

In Lodz on Mothers' Day, the gynecological and obstetric hospital at the Mother of Poland Health Center was dedicated. In conjunction with this occasion and Mothers' Day a reporter for Polish Radio asked Wojciech Jaruzelski: "Has the statesman, head of state, Wojciech Jaruzelski, sometimes thought about how his mother would see his achievements?" "I think that she would have a certain satisfaction. But I am also convinced that she would be very worried whether my intentions, my desires would be fulfilled. But probably she would worry most about the fact that it is very difficult for me that I must struggle with many very serious difficulties. Just as every mother worries about the course of her son's life."

A plenum of the PZPR Factory Committee at the Gdansk Shipyard judged the recent strike was a political one, a conscious attack by the opponents of socialism undertaken at a place and time chosen by them. The wage demands raised at the beginning of the strike were only a pretext to mobilize the shipyard workers. This aim was not successful chiefly thanks to the attitude of the decided majority of the shipyard workers who did not support the strike and thanks to the perspicuous actions of the authorities.

More than 1 million individuals, chiefly men (70 percent), work in the private sector. The majority work in industrial production (54 percent), construction (22 percent), and municipal services (12 percent) in recent years private services have appeared in education, health service, and culture. Small family workshops and plants predominate. (RZECZPOSPOLITA).

For Dollars. Beginning 1 June at 23 stations of the Petroleum Industry Center it will be possible to buy unleaded gasoline (55 cents a liter). From Warsaw we learn that vaccinations against rabies for dogs are free but one can also give them a foreign vaccine for \$2 and 293 zloty.

A prohibition on alcohol sales will be in force on 1, 18, and 19 June and will also include restaurants and Pewex and Baltona stores. The first date is associated with Children's Day; the latter two with the elections.

Personalities. Mgr Eng Stanislaw Sochaj (age 53), farmer by training, ZSL activist, Sejm deputy, has been named Lublin Voivod.

Recent notations. According to the convertible-currency table No 22 beginning 30 May the price of the dollar is 420 zloty, the West German Deutsche Mark, 247.5 zloty. At car markets, a new Lada costs 3,700 to 4,200 bony,

and a new Skoda, 3,100 to 3,300 bony. The most expensive car for sale in Gliwice was a Mercedes 300D for 50 million zloty. (PERSPEKTYWY).

On the Left

MOSKOVSKIE NOVOSTI published a positive, warm report about Andrey Sakharov. The weekly also recalled that an album published in 1 million copies in the USSR about Sakharov and his wife Yelena Bonner contained lies.

The Chinese press published statements by Deng Xiaoping associated with the announced price increases for pork, eggs, vegetables, and sugar of 30 to 60 percent. The AFP correspondent: Deng Xiaoping threw his great prestige onto the scales in order to prevent the deep social dissatisfaction caused by the recent price increases from becoming a social explosion. Deng: for many years the price system was not in accord with the real costs and China had to devote a significant portion of the state income to food subsidies which was a great burden on the economy. The price problem must be resolved in order to create a situation favoring economic progress.

The Czech weekly TRIBUNA has sharply opposed attempts to brighten up those who stood at the head of the struggle with the party, broke it up internally, and attempted to change socialism itself into a pluralist system of bourgeois democracy (in 1968). Among the names the weekly mentioned—Dubcek.

The Moscow paper TRUD published a veteran's letter. A fragment: "I and many other veterans look with dismay at what is happening now. It is simply incomprehensible. Night and day train, sea, and air disasters, airplane hijackings, various kinds of crime, anti-state statements and strikes. Why all this, no one knows....For us men of the frontline, the name Stalin was most dear, we attacked for the Fatherland, for Stalin. Now we insult him and forgive everyone else; we pardon and rehabilitate in spite of the fact that 50 years have passed." From the extensive and forcefully supported response to the letter we extract a few sentences: "Now let us speak of the truth, which you are receiving so painfully. Surely, for one's spiritual comfort, it better not to know the bitter truth. Inasmuch as it was calmer in former times—you opened the paper and everything in the Soviet Union was fine....There were no emergencies or catastrophes; even our natural disasters were the least dangerous in the world....And that we live fairly poorly, the reasons for that were also explained to us—because of the war. If things are bad somewhere then it is beyond the curtain. A simple scheme, soporific, but far from life....For many years we were surrounded by propaganda myths through which one could not penetrate....What in spite of everything is better—the bitter truth or sweet delusions of prosperity?...However bitter the medicine, one must take it, if one wants to live...."

Without publicity, with complete discretion, foreign, Western private capital has begun to flow into Cuba. Several tens of millions of dollars, and soon, as we were told, even hundreds, writes the Havana correspondent of the Tanjug agency.

Everyone released from work in Hungary receives the average wage for six months. If during this period the unemployed individual cannot find work meeting his qualifications or cannot take work for health reasons, or would lose more than 2 hours for travel to the new job, or if his income would decrease by more than 10 percent, then he has the right to apply for assistance equivalent to 60 to 75 percent of his previous wage. In the opinion of experts, these conditions are too good and do not contribute to undertaking work.

"There is no schism in the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party; there are no fractional activities," Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Portuguese Communist Party. The rumors appeared in connection with the letter of the so-called group of six (among them Vital Moreira, regarded as the almost certain successor to Cunhal) to the party authorities in November 1987 that called for a "genuine perestroika" in the Portuguese Communist Party.

"Imports of goods from the Soviet Union to Cuba increased in 1987 by 3.4 percent in comparison with the previous year, which contradicts the claim that the Soviet Union has reduced its aid for the Cuban economy," writes the Prensa Latina agency.

In Czechoslovakia, the continued rapid development of the network of stores ("ESO") which sells luxury food items whose prices frequently are more than double than normal is arousing intense discussion. In spite of the predictions, ESO has not become a testing ground; the products promoted there (more than twice as expensive as in normal stores) are not turning up in other stores.

Opinions

Prof Dr Andrzej K. Kozminski, economist:

[Answer]...in Poland today we do not have specialists in this area. Simply, they have all died. In Poland there is hardly anyone who genuinely knows anything about the emission of money and emissions policy. There is no one who knows about techniques for controlling exchange rates, and the lack of such specialists given a convertible currency could threaten us with a galloping depreciation of the zloty. There are no specialists on credit operations nor in the operation of capital markets. And there remains the interaction of all this with the world convertible-currency system, which is extremely complicated. We should add the whole organization of banking, including banking insurance....You cannot learn this from books;...it has to be learned from practice, and these things are terribly difficult; such knowledge is very

valuable. And though I am in general opposed to seeking help from foreign experts for our economy, in this area I would consider it necessary.

(Interviewed by Juliusz Rawicz, PRZEGŁAD KATOLICKI 15 May 1988)

Prof Dr Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, sociologist and deputy:

[Answer] Giving the elites freedom is winning them over for "working over" the rest of society. But I still have doubts whether the opinions of satisfied elites can neutralize the opinion of the 25 percent living below the social minimum; their concerns are primarily with daily life and not with freedom.

(Interviewed by Leszek Bedkowski, PRZEGŁAD TYGODNIOWY 15 May 1988)

Doc Dr Tomasz Goban-Klas, journalism scholar:

[Answer]...If the press is bought out quickly, this can mean first of all that other forms of communication are not functioning as they should today. Newspapers in this case are performing as substitutes....Second, high press readership can denote a concentration of formerly unrevealed information, which, as is said, arouses society's blood. A political model based on an open press will not replace a model in which political participation occurs within many political organizations.

(Interviewed by Przemyslaw Cwiklinski, ITD 15 May 1988)

Jerzy Narzynski:

"...the use of only catholic or only marxist methods will never produce the same results as using them jointly. The catholics will lack the motivation to remove unjust social structures and to counteract concentrations of capital in individuals' hands. As a result they will be nullified economically by the powerful and will have to implement their policy, which is always inimical to the social interest. Marxists, however, when they act alone, will lack a link capable of joining isolated individuals and social units into one harmonious whole. One needs a principle of love and the ethics associated with it for this, and in this case, marxist ethics which arise from principles of justice and assume class war, do not provide a sufficient motivation."

(ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE 22 May 1988)

An anonymous farmer, formerly a pork butcher:

"A 100-kilogram porker is worth 25,000 zloty. I kill him on commission, chill him, and in front of witnesses process him into hams, sausage, and bacon. And I sell him in front of witnesses for state prices; I will get for

these products 45,000 zloty. Obviously, you must subtract expenses for salt, pepper, and other spices, but these cost pennies. So where are the food subsidies?"

(Comment of a respondent in research by Bronislaw Saluda, WIES WSPOLCZESNA February 1988).

[No 27, 2 Jul 88 p 2]

[Excerpts]

National News

The State Election Commission has published the final results of the elections to the people's councils. Of those eligible to vote, 55.01 percent did so for the council members for the voivodship councils from districts, 49.11 percent of those eligible voted for members of the city councils; 59.34 percent of those eligible voted for council members for the city and gmina councils; the highest turnout, 62.43 percent, voted in the gminas. In places where the elections were undecided (12 mandates) repeat elections will be held no later than 10 July. (Among others, elections have been held in district no 16 in Slupsk to fill the office of a council member on the voivodship people's council.)

In Wroclaw Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski signed an agreement on East German and Polish "youth's work of friendship." The leaders of both countries held talks in which they evaluated the state and prospects of bilateral relations and also reviewed the international situation.

Passport simplifications went into force on 20 June. A citizen who has a passport on deposit, after submitting a shortened passport application, will receive his passport immediately. On receiving one's passport it will no longer be necessary to leave one's identification card. The requirement to have one's passport application stamped by one's employer is being dropped.

Prices for cars, produced in Poland and the socialist countries, have risen. For example, the new retail prices will be: Fiat 126p FL (face lifting) standard, 1 million zloty; FSO 125p 1500 standard 1.5 C, 1.9 million zloty; Polonez standard 1.5 CE, 2.5 million zloty; WAZ Lada 21072 1300 ccm, 2.45 million zloty; Skoda 105 I, 1.95 million zloty; Trabant 601 limousine S, 750,000 zloty; Wartburg 353 limousine S, 1.6 million zloty.

J. Pinior and C. Borowczyk were released from temporary arrest on the warranty of Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, a member of the Consultative Council of the chairman of the Council of State. They are accused of attacking and insulting an industrial guard functionary.

The Ideological Commission of the PZPR Central Committee, the chairmanship of which Marian Orzechowski has taken over from Henryk Bednarski, met. It discussed

pluralism and the new contents of the national understanding. M. Orzechowski said, among other things: "The new demands of the universal model of order is nothing other than an expression of the hidden desire for a new utopia isolated from life by a normative theory, removed from the concrete historical and national context. In this lesson of losing the dialectic of the universal and the particular, which we have already had, one observes the danger of raising socialism's concrete, historically passing forms to the rank of unquestionable principles of socialism. Pragmatism, "common sense," also leads us into a blind alley, by losing the ideological goals and the long-term prognostication of social development."

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski met with the PZPR voivodship secretaries for propaganda and with the editors-in-chief of press, radio, and television. He emphasized the importance of rapidly supplying information, initiating discussions and debates as an effective method of convincing people, giving the various forms of agitation the more personal character of the authors. He spoke against the method of "hands-on control" and for independence, partnership, and a highly developed sense of responsibility of all participants on the propaganda front.

The Polish Episcopate held a plenary conference in Bialystok. The bishops said, among other things, that "they share the concern for the condition of the state and for the subject rights of society. A critical judgment of the situation and of the changes introduced so far, which we have witnessed so far, should lead to bold farsighted transformations which are generally believed to be necessary both in the economic, social, and political spheres." Further: "The announced changes in the ability to form associations—still restricted—can contribute to awakening creative activity in society insofar as they create freedom of association through proper and just law accessible to all regardless of religious convictions, worldviews, and political convictions and also remove the practice of administrative and political interference in the life of associations. However, even far-reaching changes in this area will not substitute for the need for union pluralism, whose realization, according to the social teachings of the church, are among the basic rights of the working people."

A government proposal to amend the law on the general obligation to defend the PRL has reached the Sejm; it calls for the introduction of alternative military service for conscripts, who for deep, personal reasons do not wish to do military service. The Regional Conscription Commission would decide on the assignment to alternative service, which would last 30 months or 24 months (for graduates of higher schools) and would consist of performing simple work in particular plants, for environmental protection, social welfare, municipal services, or water management.

Commercial gasoline is supposed to appear in the next few days at selected stations of the Petroleum Products Central Agency. As Director Z. Bicki of the Ministry of

Industry said in an interview with EXPRESS WIEC-ZORNY the price will be set by the market, based on market stability and so will depend on supply and demand. The price for rationed gasoline will remain the same, there will not be any additional amounts on the reserve coupons; additional rations of fuels will be retained for those who use private automobiles for official purposes, but they will be slightly reduced. For now, there is no intention to abandon the system of rationing gasoline.

"Demanding a convertible-currency payment as a condition for receiving goods (or services) from people who do not directly participate in producing them is illegal," said W. Lewandowski, secretary of state in the Ministry of Finance, in an interview for PAP. In particular, one cannot demand convertible currency from the health service, education, domestic retail trade, municipal services, and housing construction.

On the Left

One of the major topics for discussion at the 19th CPSU National Party Conference, it is assumed, will be the role and position of the party in the system of Soviet political institutions. Among other things, the need to precisely limit the functions of the party, of its bodies and of the representative, administrative, and economic bodies has been raised.

"Cleansing Through Truth" is the title of a review of letters to the editors published by PRAVDA.

From an interview with Rezsoe Nyers ("father of the Hungarian Reforms, as he is called): "The fact that individuals who do not bear direct responsibility for the general and economic policy of the last 10 to 15 years are among the new leadership is of great political significance. They do not have to rip themselves out of their past. In democratic conditions, this is a natural change. We have not yet become accustomed to it since Hungarian society has become unaccustomed to such changes since 1948...."

Proposals to halt the a construction of the dam on the Danube were made in the Hungarian parliament by Zoltan Kiraly (recently removed from the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for criticizing party policy). The chairman of the parliamentary commission considered the proposal unrealistic since agreements have already been signed with other countries.

A new wave of tension in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabachiy was caused by a resolution adopted by the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan rejecting the possibility of annexing Nagorno-Karabachiy to Armenia.

The foreign debt of the CSSR on 1 January 1988 was \$3.7 billion, while the state bank had reserves of \$2 billion. Thus the so-called net debt was \$1.7 billion—the lowest debt among the socialist countries.

In Tirana, the Committee for Balkan Cooperation and Mutual Understanding has been reactivated.

A change on the first party secretary in Estonia: 65-year-old Karla Vajno, who directed the organization for 10 years, has been replaced by Vajno Vaelas (age 57).

Five thousand Romanian citizens have said they do not want to return to Romania and have received temporary residence from the authorities of the Hungarian People's Republic. Zoltan Gal, the Hungarian deputy minister for internal affairs: "The current situation has come into being in spite of our intentions. However, we announce that it is our moral and political obligation to give aid to individuals of Hungarian nationality living outside of the borders of our country, if they apply to us with such a request...."

The Czechoslovakian Airline is introducing inspection of all packages on domestic flights, "with a view to increasing the safety of air travel."

In Bulgaria it is permissible to open private hotels. This is the next step after introducing private taxis and restaurants.

Opinions

Andrzej Socha, journalist:

"In 1988 resources amounting to 21.215 billion zloty (including 20.711 billion zloty from the budget) will be earmarked for expenses associated with anti-alcohol work, which amounts to not quite 2 percent of the value of sales of alcoholic beverages in 1987. According to information from the Ministry of the Domestic Market, 1 trillion 35 billion 592 million zloty."

(PROBLEMY ALKOHOLIZMU June 88)

Prof Dr Grzegorz Bialkowski, rector of Warsaw University:

"...one of the basic principles of maintaining a calm atmosphere for work at the university is peacefully extinguishing social conflicts that occur or can occur outside of the university. It also turns out that a substantial portion of the active young people does not fit, viewed subjectively, in the existing structures of the youth organizations. There is a need then to increase the legal opportunities for young people to act both by broadening the rights of the student self-governments and by agreeing to students forming other organizations than those currently existing that respect the constitutional principles. I also think that the competition could stimulate the existing organizations and arouse them to greater activity."

(From a comment for ZYCIE WARSZAWY 26 June 1988)

Prof Dr Andrzej Tymowski, sociologist:

"...Liberalization of censorship, increasing freedom of expression is only the first step along the difficult road of democratization.... Expression without the ability to act, to form organizations and to act is only an appetizer before dinner: appetites increase but the hunger is not satisfied.

"Thus, whoever has said 'a' must say 'b': a broad ability to create ministructures is a prerequisite for further effective normalization of the situation in Poland. In essence we must create conditions so that we not only can speak but form one organization or another for specific activities reflecting social expectations. Unfortunately, so far these conditions do not exist, and I anticipate in the coming quarters many sharp irritations in this area. Society will be less involved in struggling for mandates to be council members and more involved in the right to associate which is the further prerequisite for making the elections to the councils democratic."

(KULTURA 8 June 1988)

Prof Dr Mariusz Gulczynski, member of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the PRON National Council, lawyer:

[Answer] ...The next generation is now becoming the opposition's explosive power—without families and housing and without prospects for such things, a very frustrated and numerous generation (more than 40 percent of the 7 million workers are 15 to 29 years of age); expectations of a course of events without conflict are a dangerous illusion. I would like to be wrong, but I predict that the resultant of internal conflict-generating forces and the external needs can be domination of the Polish political scene by clashes between "rebels" and "police."...The fact is that the rebels do not have a positive program, and nothing indicates that there will be such a program form, and this fact could produce exclusively destructive demonstrations, releasing the frustration, which would be more dangerous if a chain reaction of conflict occurred, for there would be little chance of halting it by negotiation and understanding.

(Interviewed by Stanislaw Mienkowski, ODRODZENIE 11 June 1988)

Lucjan Bartkiewicz, president of the Board of the Main Council of the Private Transport Associations, driver of a "Star":

"We are last in line for services. This sounds strange, for we have become accustomed to clients waiting and not service providers. Nevertheless, it is true that the factory director who wants to engage private transport must first place an order with a state transporter. When he refuses, in writing!, then the director can ask the transportation section to agree to contract a private transporter."

(During a discussion at the editorial office, VETO 26 June 1988)

The opinions and views cited in this section do not always agree with those of the editors.

[No 28, 9 Jul 88 p 2]

[Excerpts]

National News

The Council of State has accepted the report on the elections to the people's councils and expressed its recognition of the State Election Commission's execution of all the obligations in the election law. Initial analysis of the course of the elections indicates that among other things, it is necessary to change some of the dates in the election calendar and also to consider reducing the formality and simplifying the procedures for selecting and consulting candidates.

The PRON Commission that deals with housing issues has pointed that there is a chance that the Sejm resolution of 1984 and the five-year housing plan will not be met. After the first five months of this year, 30,200 apartments or 22.6 percent of the annual plan have been turned over, and the statistics were worse in June. As a commentary in TRYBUNA LUDU stated "the first signs of the implementation of the so-called emergency action program of Minister Ferensztajn have appeared." There are shortages of basic materials: especially metallurgical and ceramic products, chemical industry products, and wood products.

"The change of the minister of foreign affairs resulted from a decision of the PZPR Central Committee which assigned M. Orzechowski the function of secretary of the Central Committee; it does not indicate a change nor a significant modification of Polish foreign policy," S. Staniszewski, told journalists. Minister Olechowski will meet in July with Soviet Minister Shevardnadze and will visit the United States, the FRG, and France, and he will participate in a session of the United Nations.

The trade unions increased their membership by 200,000 members (to 7.2 million). Workers constituted 57 percent of them. Of the national union organizations, 134 belong to the OPZZ; about 4,000 plant organizations do not belong. In discussing the future of the union movement recently, the OPZZ Council supported the existence of one union in a plant and one central national union.

Jerzy Bilip, minister of industry, met with a group of several hundred heads of ministry associations. It was announced that there will be no mercy for those late in reforming. According to the ministry's evaluation, only 35 percent of the enterprise directors actually knows how to take advantage of independence and is working well. A list of enterprises that can be liquidated is being

analyzed; 26 of them are making very limited use of their machine parks; 21 are heavy consumers of materials; 7 plants have already been liquidated (when they learned of their fates, production rose in them by 40 to 50 percent in five months).

Wojciech Jaruzelski received Alexander King, president of the Club of Rome, who was accompanied by Prof Adam Schaff, chairman of the Polish Society for Cooperation with the Club of Rome.

How to rejuvenate the Polish Academy of Sciences, wonders ZYCIE WARSZAWY. The average age of the members of the Academy is 68 years of age; none of the 56 academics representing the social sciences is younger than 50 years of age, and only 5 are younger than 50 among the 68 mathematicians, chemists, and physicists. We have only nine academics younger than 50 and 105 older than 70. There is a recommendation that one individual younger than 50 and one older than 50 be selected for each vacated space in the Academy.

TRYBUNA LUDU in an article by Tadeusz Mendelski argues with the views of Prof Adam Schaff, contained in, among other things, an interview with the monthly ZDANIE (TRYBUNA LUDU 30 June 1988). "It is a great historical paradox," writes Mendelski, "that the representative of such a previously conservative institution as the Catholic Church, Pope Jan Paul II, surpasses in the sharpness of his vision on the contemporary world, its actual problems and developing trends, the former marxist-leninist Adam Schaff."

Prof Jarema Maciszewski, co-chairman of the Polish Soviet Mixed Commission, spoke with journalists on the "blank spots" in Polish-Soviet relations. On the Polish Communist Party: "the Soviet side has made available documents which no one has previously seen; among them is the illegal resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist International of August 1938 on the dissolution of the Polish Communist Party. On the genesis and first phases of the Second World War, and on the conditions of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. One thing is clear, there was an official Soviet announcement in this matter, that the entire phraseology and the accompanying events of September 1939 on the Polish-Soviet border were anti-leninist, shameful, improper, and false. On the camps for the interned Polish officers Kozielsk, Starobielsk, Ostaszkow: the scholars are studying the circumstances of the crime in Katyn. We will explain this issue fully; we must calmly and patiently seek the truth. It was a great tragedy, and we have an obligation to explain to the grandchildren what their grandfathers' fate was."

Official purchase prices for agricultural articles have increased. For example, beginning 1 July farmers will be paid 4,050 zloty for 100 kg of rye (previously, 3,600 zloty), for a quintal of wheat 5,100 zloty (4,600), for a quintal of rape 8,650 zloty (7,800), for a quintal of sugar beets 1,020 zloty (890), for a kilogram of live beef 320.8

zloty (274.2), for a kilogram of pork 380 zloty (330.7), for a liter of milk 60.57 zloty (previously 50.60 zloty). The increase in purchase prices will not cause an increase in official prices for basic food articles.

Prices for alcohol have increased (on the average of 14.7 percent, more for strong alcoholic beverages, less for weaker ones); prices of plane tickets for international travel to the Western countries (by 13.5 percent); insurance rates for Warta (for example, for travel to the socialist countries, the cost of insuring a fiat 126p is 3,360 zloty a month instead of 1,980 zloty, and for travel to capitalist countries, 12,000 zloty instead of 4,620).

Premier Z. Messner handed the nomination acts to the members of the Council for the Protection of the Memory of Battles and Martyrdom (its predecessor was the Council for the Protection of Monuments of Battle and Martyrdom). Jerzy Waldorff, our regular contributor, was among those nominated. Our congratulations.

On the Left

The 19th CPSU National Conference was the number one event in the world last week. In a extensive report from the speech by M. Gorbachev, western agencies devoted the most attention to political reform proposals, noting that an improvement in the economic situation would be impossible without greater political freedom which set the tone for the conference, a crucial test of support for Gorbachev's reform program. (A report from Moscow, see page 1).

A demonstration by the people of Budapest was directed against the liquidation of many Romanian villages in the Siedmiogrod area, settled largely by the Hungarian minority. NEPSZABADSAG, the party daily: "Demonstrations can expose efforts underway and those efforts which will be undertaken toward a general solution of the nationality question to danger. We should also think when we protest against the Romanian plans." The spokesman for the Hungarian ministry of foreign affairs: the demonstration in Budapest "was not officially supported." It was peaceful and held without excesses. The safety of the Romanian embassy building was guaranteed.

The Council of the Romanian Working People of Hungarian Nationality "rejects with disgust the chauvinistic, irredentist, and revenge symptoms of some circles in the Hungarian People's Republic that consciously distort Romanian reality," a speaker said in a report given at the meeting of this organization. The council changed its name: from the Council of Working People of Hungarian Nationality to the Council of Romanian Working People of Hungarian Nationality.

The Hungarian consul general in Cluj in the Siedmiogrod area was closed by a decision of the Romanian party and state leadership. The consulate personnel was

to leave Romanian territory within 48 hours. The decision was motivated by Hungarian demonstrations against Romanian territorial systematization plans.

Joze Smole, chairman of the Social Union of Working People of Slovenia said that in Slovenia people "cannot accept the recent announcement by Adm of the Fleet Branko Mamula (until May minister of national defense) that some events in this republic are functions of a special war and that there are certain elements of a counterrevolution." Smole said that in many different places in Yugoslavia excesses are occurring, that there are symptoms of anticomunism, but that no one calls this counterrevolution. The new minister of national defense, Gen Veljko Kadijevic emphasized, among other things, that "the organization, dimensions, forms, and intensity of enemy operations in the country have reached such a level that they threaten the constitutional order." He referred to the demonstrations in Slovenia in defense of an arrested soldier and two civilians on charges of illegal possession of a secret military document.

Could it have been better in Hungary during recent decades than it was? Imre Pozsgay, a well-known reformer, recently named to the party leadership, replies: "In my opinion, yes. Obviously there were serious external problems here, too. For example, the imposition by the socialist community of a definite model and mutually joined forms of operation undoubtedly placed obstacles in the path of the development of the Hungarian reform. I think, however, that we have exaggerated their significance. Obviously, it is difficult to overvalue the influence of two international factors. One of them is the about face and crisis of the world economy; the other, the false self-evaluation and mutual approach to themselves by the socialist countries and the forced mutual solidarity that flowed from this. To this one can also add a distinct sectarian, dogmatic group in Hungary that took advantage of the situation. This disarmed, to some degree, the representatives of reform who were not decisive enough and strong enough to make use of openness."

"Trotsky was accused of a crime he did not commit, but his political rehabilitation is another matter. I do not think that there is any basis for the latter. We should cease avoiding the name Trotsky in the history books and give him his appropriate place in the history of the revolution and the civil war as the creator of the Red Army," O. Latsis, deputy editor-in-chief of the journal KOMMUNIST, said at a press conference in Moscow.

RUDE PRAVO devoted a long article to Peter Uhl, a leading activist of Charter 77, a journalist in the underground press and dissident, "whom the bourgeois press is inclined to treat as a spokesman for all of Czechoslovakian society."

The daily STROITELNAYA GAZETA published the statements of five individuals, one of the most violent accusations of Leonid Brezhnev that has appeared so far in the Soviet mass media. Among others, the economist V. Belov said that Brezhnev consciously increased the production of alcohol in attempt to ease the drastic shortages of consumer goods. P. Shelest, former first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party and until 1973 a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, wrote that prior to his 60th birthday Brezhnev forced awarding himself the title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

Roy Medvedev told KOMSOMOLSKA PRAVDA that he has signed contracts with some Soviet publishing houses for Soviet editions of some of his historical books. Medvedev has begun work on a "Political Portrait of Leonid Brezhnev."

Opinions

Romuald Mieczkowski, head of the Polish Section of Wilno Radio, co-founder of the Socio-Cultural Society of Poles in Lithuania:

[Answer] The number of schools in Lithuania with Polish as a teaching language is declining. In 1982 there were 108 of them, now there are 84. Much depends on how the head of such a school views his function. The self-awareness of the teacher, his sense of national identity are important. The program brings the pupils selectively closer to the language and literature, at times it even is opposed to the daily experience of the child. Fortunately, in the basic reader published last year normal sounding names like Ola or Jurek appear. Previously, the first graders sounded out their way through the adventures of their Lithuanian cohorts Elenute and Stasys.... Now, however, the new difficulty is the removal of singing from higher level Polish classes. When a child has learned the basics of a musical education and could learn native songs, they deprive him of the chance.

(Interviewed by Jerzy Tomaszkiewicz, DZIENNIK POJEZIERZA 18-20 June 1988)

Gen Div Stanislaw Maczek:

[Answer] I am 96 years old, and today I must remember more than ever that I am approaching the end of life. I know that I will never return to my Homeland, please write that word with a capital letter: my body will remain here, in Scotland. But on the other hand, I am aware that I am known in Poland. And honored at least by a large part of the people. That is why I am talking to you. And one more essential observation. Today, I answer more as a former Lwow academic, a polonist and philosopher from the school of Twardowski, and less as a general.

[Question] ...Will you allow the opportunity to publish "From Horse Carts to Tanks" in Poland?...

[Answer] I will agree to that chiefly in view of young Poles but on the condition that I receive a guarantee that there will be no cuts or interventions in the text.

(Interviewed by Wladzimierz Krzyzanowski, PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY 19 June 1988)

Prof Dr Mariusz Gulczynski, political scientist:

[Question] How do you view the role of the opposition in socialism?

[Answer] It is an objective fact. We must consider what to do so that it functions constructively, and not destructively. Experience shows that the best solution is legalization, obviously an opposition accepting the constitutional framework. I think that applies to the majority of today's opposition.

[Question] How would this legalization work?

[Answer] This is a process that will surely require time. The starting point could be political societies and clubs, reflecting the objective pressure to recreate the situation of the years of people's democracy....A natural consequence of this would be the crystallization in the sphere of the legal political life of a broader coalition of governing forces.

(Interviewed by Mark Goliszewski, KONFRONTACJA May 88)

The opinions and views cited in this section do not always agree with those of the editors.

[No 29, 16 Jul 88 p 2]

[Excerpts]

National News

Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife Raisa have begun their visit. During the first day there were political talks. The guest and host delivered important speeches in the Sejm. During the ceremonial dinner M. Gorbachev summed up our relations in the following words: "We can look at each other in various ways. One can focus on the differences or on the similarities, on the congruence or divergence of interests. Life is so rich that one or the other will reflect only a portion of the truth. But from whatever point of view we judge our relation, there is no doubt that strengthening good neighborliness, improving our friendship, cooperation, and alliance is, first, a process that is genuinely developing, and, second, it is a demand of our times, the highway of history."

Reports by our journalists in the next issue.

Jozef Czyrek received a group of individuals who work with the journal KONFRONTACJA, who in turn met with representatives of the "independent groups." Ryszard Wojna—journalist, Sejm deputy, and a participant in these meetings—in RZECZPOSPOLITA: "I realized once again that seeking national reconciliation around the economic reform cannot be limited to narrowly economic issues. Political threads must also be included in the dialogue. The resolution of the last meeting of the central committee advanced the dialogue. The party intends, as I understood the sense of this plenum, to create a legal and political framework in which action by various subjects of our social life can be institutionalized in various ways. And I am working for such a reform and call it an effort to conclude a 'national pact.' I think that it is a broader notion than an 'anti-crisis pact.'"

From the press conference of the government spokesman. On Mikhail Gorbachev's visit. It is to open a new stage in Poland's relations with the Soviet Union. "I would not exclude the possibility that it will be possible to judge this new stage against the several hundred years of Polish-Russian relations. In a few days, something important will happen in the history of Poland."

The government announced that as a result of actions undertaken to increase the supply of market goods not only have the real threats to the quantities of supplies in the annual plan been overcome, but it is estimated that the growth will be, not 2.7 percent as planned, but 3 to 3.5 percent.

The passport authorities confirmed (a PAP report in the daily press for 9-10 July 1988), that seeking asylum abroad will not have any legal consequences after returning to Poland; in particular it will have no influence on future passport decisions for individuals who sought asylum.

The OPZZ Executive Committee discussed the causes and effects of social conflicts. The Committee adopted a resolution stating that the union movement in supporting the economic reform has repeatedly been critical of the economic policy, especially of the income and price policy. This policy, especially the excessive, chaotic fiscalization of economic life and the inflationary conception of the reform, have caused a growing wave of dissatisfaction, and this was one of the major causes of the strikes in April and May. The Committee called on the union authorities to give immediate aid to union organizations in plants in which situations develop that might lead to conflict.

Market notations after the increase in prices for cars and the introduction of commercial gasoline. ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE thinks that the increase in prices for cars had little effect on the markets; however, the non-rationed gasoline enlivens interest in buying cars. A 1988 Fiat 126p was valued at 2.2 to 2.5 million zloty in Warsaw; at 2.6 million in Krakow; and 2.3 million in

Szczecin. A 1988 Poloneza 1500 was valued at 8.5 million or more than 1,500 Polish Security Bank dollar coupons. The asking price for new Ladas was 4,200 to 4,600 dollar coupons.

The last quotations of official prices for the dollar, 11 July: 450 zloty. On 4 July the rate was 444.80 zloty; 13 June, 429.80 zloty, and on 2 May, 397.74.

Eugene Pell, the president of Radio Free Europe, in response to a public proposal by Jerzy Urban, has invited him to Munich for a discussion with the leadership of the broadcast service and the Polish section. E. Pell has also accepted an invitation extended through J. Urban by the journalists of Polish Radio to those of Radio Free Europe to travel to Warsaw for a direct exchange of views on the roles of both broadcasting services in front of the microphones of Warsaw radio.

New council members: the majority, nearly 67 percent, are in office for the first time. About two-thirds are members of the party and other political parties; one-third are un-affiliated. Of the council members, 44 percent are PZPR members, 33 percent, un-affiliated; 19 percent, ZSL members; and 4 percent, SD members. Women make up 22 percent of the council members. The greatest percentage of the council members (about 69 percent) are between the ages of 35 and 59. Only 9.4 percent of the council members are below age 30, and 8.2 percent are older than 60.

People. The plenum of the Gdansk Voivodship Committee, in conjunction with the resignation of Stanislaw Bejger from the position of first secretary, has elected a new first secretary. He is Marek Holdakowski, previous head of the Socio-Economic Policy Section of the Central Committee. In secret balloting, he received 52 votes; his opponent Zygmunt Czarzasty (first party secretary of the Slupsk Voivodship Committee), 33 votes.

On the Left

"The CEMA recently has matured to radical changes; it is a bureaucratized creature..." said N. Ryzhkov, the Soviet premier, at a press conference at the end of the 14th session of the CEMA in Prague. At this conference N. Ryzhkov also said that "the issue of rehabilitating A. Dubcek is an internal matter of the CPCZ, and as far as I know, it has no such intentions."

Comments by K. Grosz on relations with Romania: "I am not guided by thoughts of changing the borders; we regard the borders established after the second world war as a historical fact, and we do not desire they be changed. Nevertheless, we have asked, and not just now, for support for the actions of Hungarians living in Romania so that they can maintain contacts with their compatriots in the Hungarian People's Republic, so that Hungarians living in Romania can multiply their spiritual values, guard and protect the historical and cultural roots on which whole generations have drawn for the future...."

think that the current disagreement should be resolved by the two countries in bilateral talks, and we should not ask any international organization for help in this matter....I think that Comrade Ceausescu's statement that the political leadership in Romania intends to remove the differences in our views and to aim toward cooperation between the two countries is important. This is a foundation on which it is possible, even necessary, to continue our efforts to remove the differences."

Authoritative Hungarian bodies have suggested that only citizens of the Hungarian People's Republic who have urgent business in Romania go there. They recommend Hungarian tourists going to Bulgaria go through Yugoslavia and bypass Romania. This recommendation is the result of Romania not allowing several dozen Hungarian nationals to enter Romania.

A plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party has expressed complete support for the policies of the Romanian leadership as regards Hungarian issues. The plenum supported a meeting of delegations of the Central Committees of the RCP and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, proposed in letters by both parties, which is to develop ways to remove the negative phenomena in relations between the two neighboring countries. The plenum judged that the manifestations in Hungary were "chauvinist, nationalist, anti-Romanian, and anti-socialist."

How does the new Politburo differ from the previous one? Rezső Nyers, father of the Hungarian reform, in response to this question, said that the individual members of the current leadership have a different style and work differently. The old Politburo had a single style. The current variety differs from the previous rigidly interpreted unity, which created the best conditions for making decision that produced, not the optimal, but the minimal advancement. "We need unity in issues of directions. We must achieve unity in many political questions. But it will not look like it did before. I think that it will be possible to express individual opinions."

In recent years, 62 percent of the newborns have been baptized, and 80 percent of the funerals and 35 percent of the marriages involved religious rites; 3 to 4 percent of the pupils in schools attended religion classes (optional), and it is estimated that twice as many study religion in churches. There is a total of 6,326 active churches of various faiths. Catholic, 3,520; Reformed, 1,535; Lutheran, 648. There are 56 synagogues, and 788 other churches of 12 other faiths, including Baptists, Adventists, and Methodists. The weekly religious press prints 160,000 copies.

Among 16.5 million inhabitants of the GDR, there are about 1 million Catholics; the number of Lutherans is about 7 million. This means that the Catholics constitute 6.2 percent of the populations of the GDR. Catholics are a majority only in the region of Budziszyn and Heiligenstadt.

During the first half of 1988, 14,000 individuals emigrated from the GDR to the FRG. In 1987, there were 18,000 emigrants from the GDR.

Opinions

Jerzy Patock of Wladyslawow:

"During the years of 'mistakes and distortions' death sentences were carried out on about 120 higher Polish army officers. Most of them in Warsaw and Gdynia. Who were these officers? Criminals? No! They were innocent people. They amazed the world with their valor and courage. When the 'thaw' or if you prefer the 'Polish October' came, these people were completely rehabilitated....

It is probably high time to reveal these victims, just as those in Poznan, Radom, or on the coast were. Let the Polish nation bow its head before them. It is time for all of the blank spots to be filled in, inasmuch as the issue of Katyn is being explained."

(In a letter to the editors of POMERANIA May 1988)

Counter Adm Romuald Waga, chief of staff, deputy commander of the Navy:

[Answer] ...the prospect of three years of service, does not arouse great enthusiasm among many of the recruits....This situation will surely, we are convinced, change. In response to the proposals raised in society to shorten service on ships to two years and taking the overriding goal, the interest of the national economy, into account, the leadership of our ministry, after a thorough analysis and many organizational and training efforts, has decided to shorten the period of service on ships by one year.

(Interviewed by Bernard Ziolkiewicz, MORZE I ZIEMIA 29 June-5 July 1988)

Włodzimierz Sokorski:

[Answer] The political leadership of the country took from the ideology of socialism only so much as was necessary to fill the red insignia needed to exercise authority. Thus, all criticism of the representatives of the authorities or their decisions was treated as an attack on socialism. This tendency drags along behind us even today and is expressed by a phrase denoting a person who has his own opinion: controversial. Moreover, one must remember that the state, i.e., stalinist socialism, was based on a false doctrine: rich state—poor citizen. This is absurd. Only rich citizens can create a rich state.

(Interviewed by Stanisław Błaszczyk, ODRODZENIE 2 July 1988)

Prof Dr Józef Kaleta, economist:

"Last year 1987 was the worst year for our economy since 1982. The following facts prove it: the lowest

increase in national income; the greatest economic instability and inflation; the greatest budget deficit; the greatest decline in head of cows, pigs, and milk production; the greatest decline in agricultural income in comparison with incomes for urban dwellers; the greatest decline in real wages in the socialized economy. Last year we also did not succeed in slowing the on-going decapitalization of enterprise assets, the degradation of the natural environment, devastation of the social and technical infrastructure, the worsening housing situation, etc., etc.,...

"The country's dramatic, extremely worrying economic situation cannot be justified only by objective causes. Last year, the last economic sanctions on Poland were removed; there was significant improvement in our political and economic relations with the Western countries; in 1987 we had another good harvest in agriculture; and the political opposition, as is officially admitted, is a completely unimportant marginal phenomenon and cannot affect the economy negatively. Attempts to shift responsibility for the dramatic state of the economy onto society are unjustified."

(KULTURA 22 June 1988)

Dr Wieslaw Jedrzycki, sociologist:

"From the survey conducted among the directors of personnel departments on the subject of the use of sociology in practice: of the 26 ministries and central offices studied, 13 saw no need for sociological services in the coming years. During survey interviews, there was a noticeable lack of knowledge among directors of personnel departments about sociology and the use of the scholarly discipline in current work. Finally, there was a noticeable dislike for employing sociologists or making use of sociological services done by individuals from outside the ministry, out of fear of eventual changes deriving from the research (for example, innovations, reorganizations) and also for fear that it might touch on sensitive subjects (for example, social pathology)."

(HUMANIZACJA PRACY January 1988)

Father Alojzy Orszulik, director of the Press Office of the Polish Episcopate:

"Since 1979 L'OSSEVATORE ROMANO has been published in Polish. This is unprecedented. Never in the history of the church in Poland have Papal teachings been disseminated in Polish by the Vatican journal. There was a special agreement between the Apostolic See and the government of the PRL. This journal is distributed in the parishes.

"At first there was great enthusiasm about the Polish L'OSSEVATORE ROMANO, among both the parish priests and the faithful. The Vatican printers sent 145,000 copies to Poland. But...in the course of barely 10 years, the number of diocese requests has declined from 145,000 to 79,000 copies.... The Apostolic See can send many hundred thousand copies of this journal, and its

price is ridiculously low. The offering for it is 50 zloty, and each number contains 32 pages in A-3 format, as much as a normal 128-page book."

(PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI 3 July 1988)

[No 30, 23 Jul 88 p 2]

[Excerpts]

National News

In Warsaw a conference of the Political Advisory Committee of the States of the Warsaw Pact was held. The delegations were led by the secretary generals of the communist parties of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov; Czechoslovakia, Milosz Jakesz; Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu; USSR, Mikhail Gorbachev; SED, Erich Honecker; Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Karoly Grosz; PZPR, Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The Sejm accepted the government report on its operations for the period of 1 January to 31 December 1987. There were 18 votes against and 40 abstained from voting. The Sejm adopted a resolution on the current financial and market situation that expressed "serious misgivings" due to the continuing inability to stabilize the economy over several years. The Sejm said that "the implementation of the price and income operation planned by the government had not fully proved itself in practice." The Sejm changed the law on the universal obligation to defend the PRL (one vote against).

The announcement of the State Election Commission on the results of the repeat elections to the Slupsk Voivodship People's Council (district 16) and to 11 councils at the basic level has been published. In Slupsk, 14.8 percent of those eligible voted; in the city people's council election in Bielsko-Biala (district 23), 7.86 percent voted; in the city-gmina people's council election 43.47 percent voted; and in the gmina election, 37.51. All of the positions were filled.

After the inaugural sessions of the voivodship councils, we already know that 29 of the newly elected chairs hold their positions for the second time; 20 of them, for the first time. *Nota bene*, the majority of the council members, both at the voivodship level (61.1 percent) and at the basic level (67.2 percent), are in office for the first time.

Kazimierz Barcikowski, deputy chairman of the Council of State, at a meeting with journalists on the possibility of naming a second chamber of the Polish parliament: this body should be closer to a chamber of self-government, in which the practice and experience of the existing Sejm Socio-Economic Council would be used. Would representatives of the so-called opposition be candidates

for the Sejm? K. Barcikowski reminded them of the discussions of Stanislaw Ciosek, the PRON secretary general, with representatives various groups. "We are prepared to discuss various measures except one, except for the rejection of the constitutional principles." Could a christian democratic party operate in Poland? K. Barcikowski expressed doubt whether there is an authentic social need for such an organization if the catholic and christian organizations are functioning. The question arises, whether such an organization would want to conduct a politics in accord with the intentions of the church or whether it would only hide behind the church and conduct its political activities behind a cover of catholicism.

"The director as he is" writes RZECZPOSPOLITA (13 July 1988). Data from the Ministry of Industry. Of the 837 directors in the chemical industry 267 are 50 to 55 years old, 72 percent of the directors in mining and energy are over 50; there is only one younger than 35; and one younger than 40. In metallurgy and the machine industry only four directors are younger than 35 years old. The chemical industry is reducing the average age of its directors; of the 44 newly named directors, 10 are 36 to 40 years old. In mining and energy, 5 new directors have been named; all are more than 40 years old.

People. In conjunction with the resignation of Prof Wladyslaw Baka from the position of president of the National Bank of Poland, the Sejm has named his successor. He is Zdzislaw Pakula (age 54) previously first deputy president, economist. Since 1966, he has worked in banking. He was born in a farming family in the Skieriewice Voivodship and is a member of the PZPR.

On the Left

The Council of Deputies for the Nagorno-Karabachiy district adopted a resolution to separate itself from the Azerbaijan SSR and to take practical steps to join itself to the Armenian SSR. Article 76 of the USSR Constitution states that all boundary changes require the agreement of the republics concerned. The parliament of the Azerbaijan SSR has rejected the request of Nagorno-Karabachiy for separation from Azerbaijan (17 June 1988). The Supreme Soviet of the USSR has decided that Nagorno-Karabachiy will remain in Azerbaijan.

"Restructuring the Hungarian debt could lead to inflation exceeding 100 percent and unemployment of tens of thousands of people," said Laszlo Bekesi, deputy minister of finance. This year, Hungary will have to borrow \$2.5 billion in new loans to service its foreign debt, which is about \$18 billion and, in per capita terms, is the highest in Eastern Europe.

The GDR has produced very favorable economic results for the first half of 1988. The national income increased by 4.1 percent (in comparison with the first half of 1987); production of goods by 4 percent; production of consumer goods by 6.8 percent. Industrial production costs

fell by 1.6 percent; while construction declined by 0.9 percent. In spite of the unfavorable climatic conditions, the GDR also expects satisfactory performance in agriculture. During the last two years, the GDR has harvested 50.3 quintals of grain per hectare.

Before the 20th anniversary of the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the armies of the Warsaw Pact, articles justifying the need for that intervention have been appearing with increasing frequency in the central Czechoslovakian press. Usually, they are memoirs by activists, workers in the party apparatus, or families of individuals "persecuted in 1968-69."

The biological minimum for a Hungarian family of four in a city is currently 3,010 forints per capita; the social minimum, 3,580 forints. In rural areas: 2,380 forints and 2,970 forints. Last year, 1.9 million individuals, i.e., 18 percent of the inhabitants, lived at a level lower than the social minimum; 6 percent lived below the biological minimum.

During the first five months of 1988, the incomes of people in Hungary rose by 11.5 percent; prices rose by 17.1 percent; food by 21.7 percent. Families with the lowest incomes spend about 35 percent of their income on food.

Opinions

Marian Kot, head of the PZPR Central Committee Office of Letters and Inspections:

[Question] From where does the PZPR Central Committee receive the most letters?

[Answer] Per 10,000 population, from the Chelm, Warsaw, Ciechanow, and Ostroleka Voivodships. We get the least from the Katowice, Bielsko-Biala, Opole, and Tarnow Voivodships. From 21 voivodships, the PZPR Central Committee received more letters than the appropriate voivodship committee received. Among the leaders here are the Ostroleka, Skieriewice, and Lomza Voivodships....

[Question] What do the farmers complain about?

[Answer] Their letters about the transfer of land to non-agricultural uses are very strong in their social significance. Older farmers draw attention to difficulties in arranging benefits after transferring their land to the state; young ones complain about the excessive tax burden. Reports have appeared of poorly done land surveying, of favoritism, and even of bribery in the implementation of the land merging program. Difficulties in obtaining agricultural machinery and spare parts for credit are also increasing.

(From an interview in KONKRETOW 1 July 1988)

Prof Dr Adam Schaff, sociologist:

[Answer] The absence of unemployment in some countries is no longer understood as proof of the superiority

of one order over another. In our system, it has been said officially in the USSR, that there is hidden unemployment. If today changes were made in the Soviet Union that would lead to a level of productivity equal to that in the West now, which is developing like a torrent, it would be necessary to release 19 million people from work. It is not a problem of the order, but an extra-order problem.

(Interviewed by Iwona Sepolinska, GAZETA LUBUSKA 6 July 1988)

Jerzy Chlopecki, journalist:

"If we accept the basic declarations of the reform at face value, we must evaluate the participation of members of the government, or of employees of the state administration in general, on such supervisory boards differently. It should be prohibited by law, just as indirect forms and direct forms of conducting economic activity are. Such practices, prohibited by law in many countries, introduce an element of "unfair competition" into the economic game. A member of the ruling cabinet sitting on such a board can swear that he will not use his political position for the benefit of the firm he supervises, but no one will believe him....

"Given such a personnel on the supervisory board, every benefit—exemption, preference, arrangement, etc.—even the most justified ones, will appear to be the suspect fruit of highly placed influence."

(PRAWO I ZYCIE 9 July 1988)

Jerzy Zdunczyk, judge of the Chief Administrative Court:

[Question] Judge, what is the reality of the pressures applied to a judge for a decision? What about independence?

[Answer] A judge, if he wants to be independent, will be. Pressures from below and above do occur. Those from below, from the audience, demanding blood or a lynching, are the most difficult to overcome.

[Question] And those from above?

[Answer] Once we were trying a rough gang operating in the leather industry. Gomolka wanted death sentences. We simply did not hand them down.

[Question] And judges' wages? They say it was easy for you to be independent because you received an inheritance from America....

[Answer] I did. But I have always been independent. It is obvious that judges ought to earn a good living. Before I received the inheritance, my material situation was not

bad. I always wrote articles and books; I did radio programs and held a half-time position at the Institute of Labor Protection.

(Interviewed by Małgorzata Daniszewska, FIRMA June 1988)

Prof Dr Marian Stepien, editor-in-chief of ZDANIE:

"For those in authority, the chief contradiction demanding to be overcome is that between the principle of the leading role of the party and political pluralism, which, if it is to genuinely followed and other political drives in today's Poland are to be respected and not deprived of their identity, must be qualitatively different than previous conceptions and practices of cooperation with the allied political parties. In any case, their role too will undergo evolution and aim toward cooperation suggesting the operations of a political coalition. The point, however, is to allow the voices of other political orientations, which, on the one hand, do not question the leading role of the PZPR (although they can contribute important elements to the way it is conceived and implemented) and which, on the other, do not deprive themselves of their own identity."

(ZDANIE June 88)

Adam Kaczmarek, deputy head of the PZPR Central Committee Culture Section:

[Answer] We have about a million video tape recorders, and generally several people are gathered around them. It is an enormous problem. We are not concerned about the political values of these films, but their artistic ones. We are threatened with secondary illiteracy and complete denationalization of our culture.... The chief goal is to broaden the range of our offerings, and God forbid just state ones. We also need cooperative, agency, and private ones. We do not want to duplicate on tape television and feature films, because no one is interested. Rather we want to create our own production, and cooperation with other countries of the CEMA would be very desirable. Artistically we are not backward in comparison with the West; the question is only one of technology. If we overcome this obstacle, our films can be competitive with those produced across the Elba.

(Interviewed by Zbigniew Talarczyk, WPROST 10 July 1988)

**Urban on Current Issues, Discussion With
Opposition**

26000471 Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish
No 27, 2 Jul 88 pp 1, 4

[interview with Jerzy Urban, Under Secretary for Press and Information, Council of Ministers, by Marek Henzler and Jacek Poprzeczk: "A Deckhand Talks About the Ship's Course"]

[Text]

[Question] At the press conference last week we heard that you might resign your post owing to political considerations, but also owing to these considerations you cannot do it. What are your real intentions?

[Answer] I have no personal, i.e., private reasons for ceasing to hold this post. However, I feel that in the present period this would be useful owing to political considerations. At the conference I declared that my role, person, and face are primarily associated with political struggle whereas now national reconciliation is increasingly moving to the forefront of our policy. I am an ardent advocate of that reconciliation and, for its sake, it seems to me that my departure would be indicated. But I cannot decide this on my own, since such a personal move would be politically significant. I do not make policy, and hence I cannot independently create political facts and it is not up to me to resign.

[Question] Were you surprised by the TIME correspondent's question implying your resignation? We heard the opinion that his question was based on a so-called "educated guess."

[Answer] Yes, I was surprised, although I had heard echoes of similar opinions expressed by the "liberal" circles, and it was these discussions about Urban that may have prompted TIME's question. I was accused of having predicted an "earthquake" which, in the opinion of TIME's Kucharski did not occur. He forgot that, since I had made that prediction early last fall, something did happen, even though for him it may be manna from heaven: the initiation of the second stage of the reform, the changes in the government, the referendum on price increases, the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum, etc. I believe that the only person to deny an earthquake would be he who had expected a totally devastating earthquake.

[Question] At the conference you said that you could not personally decide to resign owing to the bonds of loyalty linking you to the Administration. Don't you feel like a loyal bosun who refuses to abandon his captain on a sinking ship?

[Answer] First of all, I feel more like a deckhand than a bosun. Second, it is untrue that the ship is sinking. I had simply expressed the view that the captain would find it

easier to steer the ship without my participation. What happens to me is not important to the ship's course; at most, it matters to its reputation.

[Question] Recently symptoms of social discontent have been multiplying. I refer to the April-May strikes, the results of the referendum and of the elections to people's councils, and the public opinion polls. In brief, the society is demanding an account for the policy pursued ever since 13 December 1981 [when martial law was imposed]. People say that at that time an appeal for 90 days of calm had been made, and this was followed by 6 years of calm, but what of it? It also appears that the authorities, too, are dissatisfied with the results achieved. This was reflected in the discussion at the Seventh Plenum and apparently also in the recent personnel decisions. Where would you look for the causes of the failures?

[Answer] This subject was extensively discussed in the report to the Seventh Plenum and I cannot provide an equally detailed answer. However, side by side with the failures, one should also consider the marked economic progress made during 1983-1985, a progress that, besides, has subsequently been merely slowed down, not halted.

[Question] Second, like the successes, failures too are not the failures of the authorities alone. I think that the responsibility for the situation is also borne by a quite large segment of the society. To say that the authorities are bad and incompetent while the society still is being hobbled by legal, institutional, or systemic barriers to initiative, would be simplistic, like saying that the reason why there is no cheese for sale in the stores is because we have a bad government. The government is not the source of all events. One could prepare a hierarchical list of those responsible for the shortages of cheese; that cheese is, of course, just a symbol of everything.

We are carrying out the economic reform in the worst possible circumstances conceivable. It would have been easier after 1956 or after 1970 than now, owing to such present handicaps as the foreign indebtedness, sanctions, the new social privileges won by Solidarity during the economic crisis (e.g., a work week that is shorter by a dozen or so hours), and child-rearing allowances that reduce the share of female labor and promote population growth. These are only some of the instances of the new conditions in which we operate. Economic policy is very convoluted. I believe that in these conditions a politically different administration would also have adopted a program similar to ours and encountered similar barriers—unless Uncle Sam foots the bill.

Let us now consider the domain of politics, which also was criticized at the Plenum, though with greater moderation. After all, we did accomplish a great deal over these years, especially if we consider the scale of social wrath and disappointments, the extent of various forms of opposition, etc., with which we had started out in

1980. If the speech by General Jaruzelski on 13 December 1981 were to be scrutinized now, it would turn out that not only all his political predictions came true but also much more has been accomplished.

[Question] If the blame for the economic situation were to be apportioned, it is not possible, of course, to question what you said about the shorter work week, the additional entitlements won by the society, etc. Nevertheless, the responsibility of the government is a separate issue which must be considered on its own, and this exactly is what our question is about. Moreover, the judgment of public opinion counts, whereas you seem to support the relatively unconvincing notion that accomplishments exist but the society refuses to perceive them.

[Answer] No. It is simply that the society applies a more demanding criterion, and that is its right. On the other hand, the society's view of the authorities is too fixed; it makes no allowance for the extensive institutional changes in this country. Democratization has made the decisions of the authorities markedly dependent on the society. Any economic measure can succeed only if it gains social approbation. This often is an impediment, since the extent of social approbation is fairly often inconsonant with economic rationality. In addition, the economy is burdened by the baggage of the past. It is burdened by an industrial structure inherited from the 6-Year Plan period as well as by the loans, mistakes, and failures of the 1970s. The loans then contracted were simply squandered to the extent of 30 or even 50 percent, and nowadays we all are paying for that profligacy of the past.

[Question] We find it extremely difficult to accept the idea that the influence of public opinion on the economic measures of the authorities, and on their rationality, is an impediment. In periods when this influence was absent the rationality of economic decisions was not any greater. On the contrary. In our opinion, it would be wrong to accuse the society of wasting 30 percent of the foreign credit, because this waste was due to the misuse of that credit in the absence of social control.

[Answer] You are right, and in general you are misinterpreting what I am saying. I was referring to objective conditions rather than to any fault of the society. Today, more than ever, positive economic activity hinges on various decentralized social forces.

[Question] The high-level personnel changes appear to indicate that the authorities are dissatisfied with the policy so far and with certain individuals who pursued it. Could you provide us with a fuller explanation of the latest personnel shifts? What was decisive to the departure of certain individuals and the advancement of others, e.g., Mieczyslaw Rakowski and Wladyslaw Baka? In connection with these changes someone said that the General [Jaruzelski] is throwing his last division into the battle.

[Answer] I shall not comment on personalities; that is not my role. I assume that the General is keeping divisions in the reserve like any clever general. Still, my opinion is that the social base of these reserves is inadequate. This is not just my personal opinion as it was also expressed at the Seventh Plenum, where so much was said about the need to broaden the recruitment base for the Administration by coopting nonparty people, including representatives of the so-called independent grouping, broadening the political and personal base of governance.

[Question] We are speaking of political tendencies which reflect deeper democratization processes. But here arises a more general problem. Namely, some people think that since the government cannot attain any special success in the economy, it compensates for it, so to speak, by loosening the domain of politics. But is that democratization or liberalization? Liberalization, picturesquely speaking, would consist in that the authorities still hold the society in reins, but are relaxing these reins. There is no genuine partnership; there is only a relationship of domination, though now in a milder form.

[Answer] Gentlemen, first of all, the suspicion that political changes are to compensate for the absence of accomplishments in the economy is untrue and simply absurd. We view very seriously the principle of the interdependence of political and economic factors; political reforms cannot be separated from economic ones, and vice versa. Speaking more picturesquely and bluntly, if the economy is to continue to worsen and democratization grow on a substrate of rising economic disaster, I think that this would bring us to a speedy catastrophe. I reject as totally unfounded any surmise that the political changes are a "substitute."

Now for the other question: democratization or liberalization? I have already encountered this distinction. It is being employed by certain groupings defining themselves as opposition groupings. They argue that what is happening has nothing in common with democratization, that decentralization is not taking place and there is no participatory governance, and that instead there are only some changes in the policy of the authorities, which still decide on everything, except in a different manner. But there exist many instances proving that, while the authorities make their decisions in a different manner, at the same time a growing number of autonomous democratic mechanisms is arising.

The amending of the decree on people's councils means the cession of some powers, and in the future also of ownership of some assets, to these local governments. Worker self-governments are developing and gaining in strength. A decree on association is now being prepared and its promulgation will probably no longer make it possible for the government to decide arbitrarily which associations are necessary and which are not.

[Question] Will a notification about the formation of a new organization or association suffice for its existence and activities?

[Answer] Presumably. As was said at the Seventh Plenum, all that is needed is to register the new association upon, however, providing a credible guarantee that it will obey the laws of the land, the constitutional principles, and its own bylaws—which must meet certain legal requirements. But such a decree still does not exist and I am merely interpreting the political will expressed at the Seventh Plenum.

Consider other instances. The autonomy of the trade unions is growing. Is this liberalization or, after all, democratization? Or what about the citizens' rights spokesman? After all, such a spokesman, or ombudsman, is not part of the authorities but acts outside them, in the court of public opinion. Consider also the work of the Constitutional Tribunal, at which the government unfortunately is losing its cases so often. This also is a democratic mechanism rather than a symptom of "liberalization."

[Question] Seen from this standpoint, how are the elections to people's councils to be viewed? On the one hand, these elections can be seen as reflecting the trend toward democratization, toward letting the citizens handle many affairs on their own. On the other hand, our political tradition is such that any election is a test of popularity for the authorities. Well, it seems to us that the organization of the elections was influenced by both these factors. And if we consider them as a test of popularity, it was a failure.

[Answer] Were we to treat these elections as a test of popularity, they would have been postponed, because, like you, we also are aware of the public mood. Were our principal motive to achieve greater attendance by voters, we would have waited for a more favorable moment.

Please, I wish to stress this, so don't delete it from your record: my comments on this issue are my own rather than official. If I am to express my own opinion, I would say that the appropriate authorities could have asked the Sejm to postpone the elections, even at the last moment, on using two highly important arguments.

First, the long-debated amending of the decree on people's councils is being finalized so late. But that amending is the foundation, as it were, for the elections, and hence time should be allowed for translating it into reality, making it popular. Then the electoral campaign could have been organized on the basis of that decree, and only then elections could take place.

The second possible argument would be that a large number of so-called independent personalities were asked to be candidates for councilmen in order to broaden the political base of the people's councils. As I

had announced before, the results were poor and ultimately only 700 persons of that kind became candidates. We could have announced that we wish to renew our proposition, broaden the base of eligible candidates, and postpone the elections until the independents participate. That would have been well received by part of public opinion.

[Question] Why then were not the elections postponed? Your rationale sounds very convincing.

[Answer] Because other considerations prevailed. The point was that new councils should start operating now, on the basis of the new formula, that we should delegate new powers not to old councils but to new and hopefully more vital ones. After all, the concept of communal property will now become a reality and the councils will gain tremendous powers for reviving economic life in their localities. They will also become parent agencies of newly founded enterprises.

That was the point: to breathe new life into people's councils rather than to increase voter attendance; after all, I had previously declared publicly and sincerely—because the public opinion polls showed it—that voter attendance will be low. It turned out to be 4 or 5 percent lower than predicted by CBOS [Public Opinion Survey Center] and OBOP. That was hardly satisfactory, but we knew what we were doing.

Voter attendance is just not that important, and the times are coming when it will cease in general to be a criterion for evaluating elections. For there is under way an evolution from elections of the plebiscite type (for or against, in general) to elections serving simply to identify persons who are to exercise particular functions.

[Question] You mentioned the aloofness of the independent or opposition constituencies toward candidacy for the councils. Perhaps broader reflections on the causes of that aloofness toward the undertakings of the authorities are indicated. The reasoning of these constituencies is that, by participating in such undertakings, they confer, as it were, some legitimacy on the authorities. They don't want to do it, because then they would become part of the authorities, so to speak, whereas they desire to retain their political identity. How do you view this attitude, and, more generally, what is the policy of the authorities toward the opposition? It is said that Deputy Prime Minister Sadowski was to hold talks with representatives of these constituencies, but the notion was dropped owing to the role played by the opposition in the recent strikes. What are the prospects for resuming these talks.

[Answer] First, I deny that closer cooperation would result in the loss of identity by the independent constituencies. No one wants that; on the contrary, we want to preserve it. We want to broaden the base of governance by including the independents and those who consider themselves oppositionists but are not extremists and are

ready to repair life in Poland by acting within the framework of legalism. Such is now the breadth of the formula of the political offer.

After all, no member of our party considers it important for, say, Attorney Sila-Nowicki to join our party, because then the Consultative Council would lose its pluralist hallmark and would become less valuable as a way of promoting national reconciliation. Or suppose that Lech Walesa joins the party and becomes an ardent party dogmatist. Of course, the party would view this as a success if that symbol of the opposition undergoes such a splendid conversion. But such a hypothetical achievement would neither legitimize progress toward national reconciliation nor promote broadening the base of governance.

So then, the point is definitely not to diminish the others' political identity but to find a common platform that would make an alliance sensible. What matters is to outline general aims and also certain particular aims (e.g., the reform) that could become common aims, because if a person has totally different aims and does not wish to cooperate on any plane, then there is no point to entering in any agreement or alliance with him.

We are initiating gradual changes that occur with fairly rapid but deliberate speed and on a corresponding scale. For the history of Poland shows that when various changes pile up in time and then occur rapidly and suddenly, and when these changes become radicalized, their consequences are other than intended and affect adversely national defense, the stability of the state, and the economy.

Excessively rapid changes result in unsuccessful experiments such as the Solidarity experiment in 1981. That is why we are proposing the evolutionary road and telling those with whom we are exploring a plane of agreement: "Come, avail yourselves of the already existing framework of action. By acting from within, you will gain influence on the course of policies and on broadening that framework. Accept this philosophy." Some accept it, while others reply that their philosophy is different and they first require the framework to be such as would meet their wishes and only then they would come and, e.g., avail themselves of the opportunities afforded by the elections to people's councils.

I believe that our view of the process of political and economic changes in Poland is more rational, more realistic, and more strongly based on the conclusions from the experience so far.

[Question] But before reaching that common plane you refer to, before reaching an agreement, negotiations are needed. Hence, we ask again the question of the prospects for these negotiations.

[Answer] I have already commented often and copiously on this subject. These negotiations depend not on us alone. Consider the recent situation: the leaders of the persons defining themselves as oppositionists met and resolved on political demands while at the same time declaring their eventual support of the economic reform. Deputy Prime Minister Sadowski expressed his readiness to meet with that group, including Lech Walesa. But subsequently Lech Walesa became de facto a strike leader. The National Coordination Commission [of Solidarity], of which he is the chairman, called for a general strike, that is, for another political crisis in Poland. Once this happened, the offer of negotiations was nullified by the force of political facts, because the other side demonstrated that it desires not an agreement but a trial of strength and a crisis. This does not mean that the idea of the negotiations has been dropped for ever; it is simply that we viewed as a negative answer the facts created by Walesa and his associates.

Next, TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY [a Catholic weekly] submitted [to censors] the text of a political program identical with that of the group defining itself as oppositionist. It was in the form of an article authored by Bugaj and Wielowieyski. We proposed that the article would be published in totally uncensored form in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY provided that POLITYKA would reprint it at the same time on attributing it to TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY and publishing a rejoinder on behalf of the authorities, a rejoinder that would, incidentally, include an offer for an agreement about the reform. I had prepared that rejoinder together with the unforgettable Zygmunt Szeliga.

Thus, such an exchange of views in print would be another form of initiating dialogue and defining more precisely the positions regarding the "platform of the opposition" than the miscarried negotiations between Deputy Prime Minister Sadowski and Lech Walesa, among others. But TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY refused permission to publish that article simultaneously in POLITYKA despite the much larger readership of the latter. It also refused any talks on alternative arrangements for an exchange of views. Editor Kozlowski of TYGODNIK slammed down the receiver, and Mr. Ryszard Bugaj, on behalf of himself and his coauthor, declared his solidarity with the attitude of TYGODNIK. Thus this form of initiating dialogue also failed through no fault of our own.

The article by Bugaj and Wielowieyski was later published in censored form in TYGODNIK, with, mostly, the invectives against socialism, our camp, and our policy, being deleted by the censors, but by then we made no riposte to that emasculated article and it was devoid of the importance it would have had as a form of public exchange of views. Thus, while declaring its desire for agreement, the other side even refused to negotiate on the technical aspects and form of making the first step. Does this course of events indicate that they ardently

wish to reach an agreement and we do not? Yet this is how the matter is being presented to Westerners who talk with Walesa and his associates.

What logic is there? An article is written, containing a frontal attack on our policy and our system of society, but also containing a valuable proposal to cooperate for the sake of the economic reform, on the valid premise that the only way out is to support the reform irrespective of one's views on anything else. Thereupon, after an agreement on this issue is proposed, talks on even forms of initiating that dialogue are rejected in advance. How does this reflect on the credibility of those who supposedly desire an agreement but refuse even to consider the technical aspects of discussing it?

[Question] Is Lech Walesa still merely a private individual to you?

[Answer] From the standpoint of his status, Lech Walesa is a private individual, but since there are different private individuals, he is a private individual who enjoys fame in the West and is followed in this country by a dwindling but still existing group of adherents. He is simply a well-known person and, as public opinion polls show, ranked just above me in the hierarchy of social trust—specifically in the penultimate place.

[Question] In your public declarations why do you badmouth Lech Walesa so much? We listen with great interest to your public declarations and, whether we agree with them or not, we value highly their logic and rationality. But sometimes the impression arises, especially when you talk about Walesa or other representatives of the opposition, when you repeat that they get paid abroad, that this is neither your own language nor your style.

[Answer] As for their getting paid abroad, that is not a question of language but of facts which merit emphasis and have a definite political meaning, because they conflict with the concept of an independent opposition. The fact that the Congress of the United States voted one million, and then two million, dollars for the remnant of Solidarity in Poland and has announced continuing this subsidy in the subsequent years, places the representatives of that group in an ambiguous position, and this is not just my opinion but also that of Mr. Lech Walesa. I am basing myself on his comments, including the declaration that he was earmarking that money for social services to people. In talks with foreign journalists Lech Walesa revealed how greatly he was troubled by this whole situation.

And the reason why I talk so often about Lech Walesa does not stem from some personal dislike, of which some people suspect me. I met Lech Walesa twice or thrice behind the negotiating table in 1981, and I once had the occasion to speak with him semiprivate for an hour and my personal impression was that as a human being he is rather likable.

I don't have either any public obsession about Walesa, but it so happens that press conferences at "Interpress" deal also with publications by the Western press, and many of these are interviews with Lech Walesa or publications of his comments and those of his associates, and that is why I mention his name so often, upon commenting on the subject in a manner ensuing from the logic of such polemics. This frequency of my references to Lech Walesa ensues not from the role which he plays in this country's life but merely from the role which he plays in the Western propaganda unfavorable to Poland.

[Question] Allow me to ask whether you perceive at this moment the need and possibility of reaching an agreement with Walesa.

[Answer] That depends on who Lech Walesa will be in the sense of political orientation and conduct. If he will be the detonator of new attempts to start more strikes, we have nothing to talk about with him. If, however, he adopts a stable attitude toward exploring ways of reaching some agreement for the sake of reforms in Poland, then he can be a partner, just like anyone else who through his actions demonstrates that in his own ways he wants a better life for Poland.

The problem with the person of Lech Walesa as an eventual partner in any negotiations consists in that he says one thing today and another tomorrow, whereupon he resumes a more conciliatory tone only in order to again do something conflicting with that tone. Besides, this has always been so. We are thus dealing with an unusual lability of attitudes on the part of that person, and hence also with a political chameleon. This is besides how his close associates view him, too, with some of them, incidentally, already long questioning his leadership. Recently Mr. Gwiazda in the West termed Walesa's group a degenerate one.

[Question] What you say about attempts to reach an understanding with the opposition also seems to be a symptom of the changes. Is it possible to speak of the second stage in the domain of politics as well? This also appears indicated by the greater openness of the information policy. We find all the more disturbing the symptoms of opposing tendencies, such as we have experienced on our own skin, in our newspaper. For a long time now POLITYKA has not been able to publish articles explaining the misunderstanding about the situation in Pomeranian Bay [the GDR's unilateral decision to extend its sovereignty over waters near Szczecin], and for a time we were not permitted to publish a list of members of the Pen Club. [The censors also prevented us from] publishing an article about "The Orange Alternative" [a serio-comic craze initiated by Wroclaw artists]. These are just a few examples.

[Answer] Above all, I would not consider these particular instances a trend, because even publications and persons hostile to our politics acknowledge that the scope of the freedom of the press has grown markedly broader. I am

not qualified to explain completely the circumstances behind these particular instances, especially as I am unfamiliar with the articles in question. In some cases, however, I am competent to offer a rationale for the curtailment of information.

The question of the Bay of Pomerania is very sensitive and it should be and, we believe, shall be solved through talks between the authorities of both countries. The less emotion of public opinion and sensationalism here, the better for the matter.

[Question] Why is not it possible to present publicly the positions and arguments of both countries?

[Answer] Any article in POLITYKA would result in rebuttals from the GDR press and make the dispute public.

[Question] But it is public anyway, if only owing to your press conferences at which you are bombarded by questions on this topic.

[Answer] But my answers have been carefully weighed. There exist affairs of state, especially in the domain of foreign policy, which publicity would definitely harm or would even tie the hands of both parties during examination of the issue. It should not be assumed either that minor incidents natural between neighbors will dominate public awareness at the expense of fundamental issues relating to a cardinal *raison d'état* of Poland, namely, its close alliance with the GDR.

[Question] It looks like we are nearing the end of and a summing-up of our interview. A look at that ship on which you exercise important duties produces the impression that it is after all rather drifting. Is some radical change in its course possible? There is a growing number of concepts, advanced by various groups and groupings besides, that streamlining the operating system of power in our country will require power-sharing. Proposals of this kind differ; for example, they assume the formation of two socialist parties or a Christian-democratic party. Supposing that you were to define the longterm course of the ship, tell its destination, do you think that a solution of this kind lies on the horizon? Would it be possible to share power also with noncommunist elements such as opposition groupings rather than the parties allied with the PZPR?

[Answer] First, as to that metaphor of the ship, I believe that our ship is following a well-defined course, except that the conditions of navigation are very difficult and the sea is stormy and abounding with reefs. That is how I would expand this metaphor. If we consider what we had said early in 1981 and after 13 December 1981 and subsequently, I believe that we have been consistent in words and deeds, though at the same time adapting them to the course of events. Recently we made the offer of pluralism of associations. This does not, of course, merely refer to the possibility of allowing the formation

of associations of owners of triangular or rectangular private plots, but has a definite political meaning. At the Seventh Plenum it was also said that Catholic groupings showing a constructive attitude toward the socialist Polish state can be elevated to a higher level [meaning, among other things, greater representation in elected bodies], and many other proposals as well were made, proposals that it had taken me a quarter-hour to enumerate at the press conference. Such are the present stage and scope of proposals for political reforms. At the same time, it ensues from the letter and spirit of both recent PZPR congresses, and not just of the Seventh Plenum, that the road toward evolution is open.

You would like precisely me to predict the further forms of that evolution? This is very difficult. For the forms of evolution will also depend on the attitudes of our partners and counterparters, on the extent to which they will begin to demonstrate a feeling of shared responsibility for the state, for the nation, for its real political interests, for Poland's position in the world, and for the Polish economy, and also on the extent to which they understand the effect of the events, successes, and failures, in Poland on the changes in the other socialist countries, e.g., in the Soviet Union. The further travel of the ship depends on too many factors to predict its future stages in advance.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

1386

PGR Director Removed, Disciplined
26000473d Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
3 June 88 p 2

[Article: "Spring 1988 Bad for the PGR in Olecko"]

[Text] During an audit at the state farm (PGR) in Olecko, Suwalski Voivodship, the inspectors unfortunately ran into disorder and poor management again. In this connection, Gen Czeslaw Kiszcak, chairman of the Council of Ministers' Committee on Respect for Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline, asked Suwalski Voivodship Governor Kazimierz Jablonski for the immediate recall of Lucjan Nawrocki, the director of the PGR in Olecko, and also for a thorough analysis of the work of those Voivodship Office representatives in Suwalski who were supposed to oversee PGR operations and examine the recent Olecko PGR financial audit performed by a local body, which had not advised them that anything was amiss.

10790

**Stronger Use of Sejm To Voice Dissent,
Alternative Programs Favored**

26000473a Poznan WPROST in Polish
No 23, 5 Jun 88 pp 6, 7

[Article by Marek Z. Szczepanski: "Which Way to Normalcy?"]

[Text] The idea of special government plenipotentiaries appeared in Gen W. Jaruzelski's speech at the Tenth ZSL Congress this past March. They are to be directed against various sorts of "delayers" and adversaries of the reform, and their implementation has been made dependent on an assessment of results in the economy during the first quarter. Meanwhile, in a few centers of the country (Bydgoszcz, Nowa Huta, Wroclaw, and Gdansk) strikes have been instigated, based mainly on material conditions, although there have also been political demands (for example, demands for the restoration of "Solidarity" and for trade union pluralism). After what has happened, is exceptional emphasis going to be given to what was to have been in the announcements: to instruments for breaking up bureaucratic structures, for making operations functional, and for deformalizing and speeding up measures aimed at finally mobilizing (or unblocking) healthy economic mechanisms, or will they too take on features of discipline and efforts at putting things in order and tend toward a renewal of centralized management of the economy? These questions are not rhetorical ones, because everyone knows that the wave of strikes and wage demands may serve as an argument for proponents of a return to the old "tried and true" methods of administrative steering of the economy, a centralized system based on directives, or some intermediate variety of it. The people or things against which the government's exceptional powers are to be used is therefore an important matter.

It would be a good thing if we could break up the multiplant structures, giant industrial associations ("super associations"), and monopolies (like Megat, Elpol, the "Hutnictwo i Węgiel Brunatny" (Metallurgy and Brown Coal) companies, and so on), or at least whittle them down to proper size, without undermining the principles of the enterprises' independence, self-management, and self-financing. It would also be a good thing if we could restrict or partially freeze investments in the power and raw materials group and in heavy industry, which are still taking up tremendous outlays and firing inflation. The first decisions in this direction made by Deputy Premier Sadowski may be considered a good sign. At the same time we can anticipate a severe reaction from the lobby which has proved to be our economy's strongest lobbyist up until now, and also from whole social and vocational groups (including blue-collar workers) who have been at risk in their previous material situation, but opposition cannot be avoided. Everyone knows that if, for example, the steel mills or cement plants that had been operating in the red were shut down and the finances allocated to subsidize them, the electric power, and the raw and other materials were transferred

to the rest of the steel mills and cement plants, which are presently operating at 50 or 60 percent of their production capacity, they would produce the same amount at far less cost, and part of the money could be spent right away on modernizing plants in light industry and improving market supply. This is not my private speculation. Similar proposals, along with detailed calculations, have already been presented by economists and economic journalists (like S. Albinowski, for example) in professional publications or in the pages of ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE. It might be cheaper to pay workers from the closed mills or cement plants for, let us say, half a year, to make it possible for them to upgrade their qualifications or to transfer to more modern, more profitable plants, than it is to pay billions in subsidies to keep these economic "dead weights" in operation. It would be a good thing if the extraordinary powers were used to begin the long-promised restructuring of the economy. It would be worthwhile, as the economists have been saying, to take this opportunity to review at least some of the items in the plan for 1986-1990 in which the projected investment outlays are beginning to make permanent the anachronistic structure of the national economy shaped during the period of industrialization modeled along Stalinist lines. If instead the extraordinary powers are to help limit the enterprises' independence, subordinate management staff in the economy to the state administration, force targets on the enterprises telling them what they are to produce and how much, limit the rights of the self-governing bodies (employees' councils), or introduce excessive ad hoc legal or organizational regulation, then this would mean no progress in reforming the economy but a step backward. The conviction that the central authorities are omnipotent or all-knowing in the economic sphere has long since proved to be a myth.

Regardless of how far-reaching the authorities' powers or how strong their determination to promote the reform, however, some things here work independently of the authorities themselves. It is also essential that groups restrain their own selfishness and that the focus be placed not only on how the distribution is to be made and what each deserves, but also, even more importantly, on how to produce more and better, while earning a good living. After all, everyone knows that in our current situation strikes are really economic suicide. Alongside the immediate measurable losses, there are also the long-range consequences, because they undermine Poland's reliability as a country worth investing in, one to which credit may be extended and which can conduct intensive, consistent reforms which allow it to surmount the causes of cyclical economic crises rather than merely overcoming some of their effects. Strictly speaking, a crisis hurts us all (or nearly all), and we are all justified in complaining about it, but so what, inasmuch as any increased payments in our current situation would fan the fires of inflation and upset the market? Here the groups which are the strongest economically (transport workers, steel mill workers, and even miners' trade unions, through legal collective disputes) make the

loudest fuss, because the nature of their work favors them in getting their message through. This being the case, what can be done by employees of other branches of industry whose work is also essential for the economy to function normally and for the public's needs to be satisfied (branches such as light industry, food and agriculture, and so on)? If they all at the same time demand "protection" on the order of from 15,000 to 20,000 zlotys, this will cause galloping inflation and will strip the market. We are familiar with these phenomena from our experience of the last months of 1981, for example. The situation of employees of budget categories whose work is also essential to the normal functioning and development of society but whose incomes are often half that, for example, of the steel mill workers and miners (that is, budget categories including teachers, physicians, scientists, and civil servants) becomes tragedy.

Another issue concerns the linking of economic and political reforms. Advocates of a "heavy hand" urge that this is not the right time for it. But when was there a right time? During the periods of relative stability and calm, did we not notice the reforms slowing down, a return to the former methods of directives and decrees for everything, the preservation of the old system, reluctance to make fundamental changes, and fears of expanding the scope of true democracy? There remains a task of primary significance, that of working out those mechanisms for the articulation of opinions, interests, positions, and views, which are varied and often conflict with one another, so that it will take place within the framework of the political system (the best thing would be for it to happen through the parliament and local self-governing bodies), rather than on the fringes of it or outside of it. Whenever the manifestations of dissatisfaction are not externalized in such drastic form as they are during plant sit-ins, for example, a significant proportion of the state and economic bureaucracy operates at too slow a pace and "in the old way." I think that it would be useful in the future to create a "safety valve" in the form of legal opposition in the Sejm which would respect the basic principles of our system but have the right to present alternative programs and personal proposals. Trade union pluralism is probably not an evil in and of itself, although there is no doubt as to the disastrous nature of the situation we all know from 1981, when a trade union turned into an opposing political movement which also operated through the economy.

It is a question of having the disputes and controversies take place in the Sejm, the people's councils, and PRON, and between various parties or groups, without letting them destroy the economy. On the other hand, issues concerning wages and working conditions in the production sphere should be resolved within the given plant, according to its financial capabilities. This seems simple and obvious, but we can only begin to move toward a state of normalcy. Both the effectiveness of the reforms in the economy and profound changes in the sphere of

building up society and public awareness will determine the rate at which we can approach normalcy. Otherwise, we will be destined to variety of exceptional conditions that are far from normal.

10790

Sejm Voting on VII PZPR CC Plenum Personnel Changes Clarified

26000467 Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish
No 27, 2 Jul 88 p 3

[Article by Marek Henzler: "It Happened in the Sejm"]

[Text] During the last session of the Sejm (16-17 June 1988), an important event occurred. After decades of agreeing to all proposed changes in state positions on every occasion, a majority of deputies refused support.

The first symptoms of the deputies' changing attitude to changes in state positions proposed to them (other than in 1980-81) could be observed in October 1987 during the voting on the changes in the reordered cabinet of Premier Zb. Messner. Some of the ministers leaving at the request of the premier received a surprising number of votes from deputies opposed to their departure. There were also quite a few votes against some of the candidates for new ministers. Many of the deputies completely abstained from voting.

On 17 June 1988 during the debate on the ninth point of the day's agenda—changes in state positions—Marshall Roman Malinowski was presiding over the deliberations. First, he read letters from Jadwiga Biedrzycka asking him to present to the Sejm her resignation from the position of deputy marshall for reasons of health and "the need to relieve myself of a portion of my current obligations" and from Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski asking that his resignation from the positions of deputy marshall and chairman of the Socioeconomic Council be accepted "due to my being assigned the position of secretary of the Central Committee by the PZPR Central Committee."

The marshall next said that the Presidium of the Sejm (himself and the deputy marshalls) in conjunction with the Convention of Seniors (the individuals in the Presidium and the chairmen of the Clubs, Deputies' Circles, and the Socioeconomic Council) move for naming Elzbieta Gacek and Tadeusz Porebski deputy marshalls. Roman Malinowski characterized both candidates and reminded the deputies "that according to article 31 and 79 of the rules of the Sejm resolutions to elect and name and recall from state bodies require an absolute majority of the votes in the presence of at least half of the total number of deputies." He stated that the required number of deputies were present at the session and initiated the voting.

The deputies recalled from the position of deputy marshall: Jadwiga Biedrzycka (335 for, none against, and 4 abstained) and Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski (335 for, 1 against, and 9 abstained). They also recalled the latter from the position of chairman of the Socioeconomic Council (308 for, 16 against, and 20 abstained).

Next, Elzbieta Gacek was named to the position of deputy marshall (332 for, none against, 9 abstained) and Tadeusz Porebski was named to the position of deputy marshall (276 for, 19 against, 50 abstained) and to the position of chairman of the Socioeconomic Council (238 for, 31 against, 76 abstained). Elzbieta Gacek was recalled from the position of member of the Council of State (340 for, 2 against, 1 abstained).

Marshall R. Malinowski thanked the outgoing deputy marshalls and turned to carry out the change in the position of the president of the Supreme Chamber of Control.

Roman Malinowski said (fragments of his speech):

"The Presidium of the Sejm in conjunction with the Convention of Seniors moves for the recall of citizen Tadeusz Hupalowski from the position of president of the Supreme Chamber of Control due to his transfer to another state position. Simultaneously, it moves to nominate citizen Włodzimierz Mokrzyszczak to the position of president of the Supreme Chamber of Control.

"Citizen Włodzimierz Mokrzyszczak was born on 3 August 1938 in Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski and is a civil engineer by training. From 1971 to 1976 he occupied various positions in the Polish State Railways ranging from senior supervisor in the Gdańsk office to director of the regional office in Olsztyn. He is a member of the PZPR. Since 1976 he has held the positions of first secretary of the Olsztyn Voivodship Committee, deputy member of the Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee; until the seventh PZPR Central Committee plenum, he was a member of the Politburo. Currently, he is chairman of the Central PZPR Control and Review Commission.

"Do any of the deputies desire to speak on the above proposals? No one wishes to.

"We will begin voting. I propose adopting the following resolutions: a motion to recall Tadeusz Hupalowski from the position of president of the Supreme Chamber of Control.

"Those deputies in favor of the resolution, please raise your hands. Thank you.

"Those against?

"Those who abstained from voting. Thank you.

"For 154, against 140, abstained 47.

"I announce that the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic on the basis of article 36 of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic has recalled Tadeusz Hupalowski from the position of president of the Supreme Chamber of Control by a vote of 154 for, 140 against and 47 abstaining.

"The resolution to name Włodzimierz Mokrzyszczak to the position of president of the Supreme Chamber of Control.

"Those deputies in favor of the resolution, please raise your hands. Thank you.

"Those against?

"Those who abstained from voting.

"I announce that the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic on the basis of article 30 of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic has named Włodzimierz Mokrzyszczak to the position of president of the Supreme Chamber of Control by a vote of 143 for, 130 against and 60 abstaining.

"Deputies! Please permit me in the name of the Sejm and personally to thank Tadeusz Hupalowski for many years of fruitful service (applause), for many years of very fruitful service as president of the Supreme Chamber of Control. Thanks to his personal values, character traits, conscientiousness, and responsibility, Tadeusz Hupalowski has made an essential contribution to increasing the effectiveness of state control. He has gained great admiration and recognition among the deputies, and the applause a moment ago showed this great admiration and recognition.

"The post-control reports given to the Sejm and its bodies and also the appearances of the president of the Supreme Chamber of Control at sessions of the Sejm have constituted invaluable help in the implementation of parliamentary control. I am deeply convinced that in the future your activities, General, will also be equally fruitful, which all of us here in this hall sincerely wish you. (Applause). We now proceed to the changes in the Council of Ministers."

Marshall R. Malinowski announced to the deputies that the Sejm Presidium had received a letter from Premier Zb. Messner asking for the recall of Marian Orzechowski from the position of minister of foreign affairs and the naming of Tadeusz Olechowski to that position. During the voting there were 240 for recalling Marian Orzechowski, 30 against, and 58 abstaining. For naming Tadeusz Olechowski to the new position there were 292 for, 4 against, and 37 abstaining.

Next, the Sejm marshall ordered a 15 minute intermission in the deliberations, after which he again spoke.

Roman Malinowski:

"Deputies! According to the rules, resolutions and laws pass with a simple majority of votes. In the case of

changes in state positions, an absolute majority of votes "for" to those present in the hall is required. It turns out that the results of the voting in the recall of Tadeusz Hupalowski as president of the Supreme Chamber of Control produced a simple majority of the votes but not an absolute majority of the votes to those present in the hall. As a result, I propose to annul the vote on the motion to name Wladzimierz Mokrzyszczak president of the Supreme Chamber of Control because it conflicts with the results of the first vote. (loud applause)

"Tadeusz Hupalowski, president of the Supreme Chamber of Control has asked to speak."

Tadeusz Hupalowski:

"Mr. Marshall! Deputies! In conjunction with the results of the voting, which undoubtedly gives me great satisfaction, and for which I am greatly thankful to the deputies, I ask, however, that you keep in force the proposal announced by the Sejm marshall, for that proposal agrees with my own decision. Thank you very much." (applause)

Roman Malinowski:

"In recognition of the comments of the president of the Supreme Chamber of Control, and emphasizing that this type of personnel decision with reference to state positions requires an absolute majority of votes and not a simple one, I propose to call for a second vote.

"Those in favor of the resolution to recall Tadeusz Hupalowski from the position of president of the Supreme Chamber of Control, please raise your hands. 147. 148.

"Those against. 94.

"Those abstaining. 68.

"310, or 148 is a simple majority, and not an absolute majority. (loud applause)

"As a result of this, I announce that the Sejm has rejected the motion to recall Tadeusz Hupalowski, the president of the Supreme Chamber of Control. (applause)"

"President Tadeusz Hupalowski on the basis of the Sejm decision remains president of the Supreme Chamber of Control (applause)."

The change in the president of the Supreme Chamber of Control was widely reported on by the foreign press and agencies. It has been pointed to as something that makes one think, unprecedented both in Poland and in the other socialist countries, an example of the correction of the system. Deputy Mikolaj Kozakiewicz's comment when asked his opinion of the event, has been cited: "I think that this was a warning to the state leadership that the old methods will not be effective or tolerated."

I also asked other deputies for their opinion of the deputies' opposition. Zbigniew Pruszkowski (PZPR), a worker at the Warsaw Polish Optical Plant, said that in his and his colleagues' opinion, changes in prominent state positions should occur when someone fails or when for the general good his qualifications can be used in a higher position. In this case, neither of these circumstances was present.

The Supreme Chamber of Control has not had such a good president for many years, and its reports, which present our reality, especially the economy, with unusual objectivity, are the basis for the Sejm commissions' work. The Sejm could not resign from such a good president of the Supreme Chamber of Control. The way the changes were carried out also aroused the opposition of the deputies. In this particular case, every other candidate would have lost the vote.

Deputy Eugeniusz Czykwin (Christian Social Association) from Bialystok was not in the Sejm during the vote because he was participating in the celebration of the Baptism of Rus. He interprets the results of the vote as an expression of the dissatisfaction of the deputies with the shifting of individuals in state positions simply to make room for others. And since this applied to an individual who has particular authority among the deputies, the results of the vote came out as they did. Although, he admits, he was surprised by the results on his return.

13021

People's Council Elections Analyzed; Lack of Commentary Scored

26000469 Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNICZY in Polish No 28, 10 Jul 88 p 4

[Article by Piotr Aleksandrowicz: "Political Accounts: The Elections Were Followed by an Absence of Commentaries, Information, and Analyses"]

[Text] Something is not right. For many months the citizens were being told that the elections to people's councils were the most important political event of the first half of the year. Thousands of meetings with aspiring and nominated candidates for councilmen were organized. Several hundred thousand people decided to participate in the game for mandates. Several million people checked on who is who. Some 15 million voted. The topic was written about in thousands of newspaper pages and the greatest propaganda campaign in television history was carried out.

Then a day after the elections the balloon burst.

Of course, the results were published, early in some voivodships and late in others while in others still—for elections to basic-level councils—the publicity was limited to mimeographed communiqes posted in stores, offices, etc. The press and other mass media showed little interest in who voted, who did not, who marked the ballot, who did not, who won, who lost, and why. There is still a dearth of information, analyses, and commentaries.

I have not the entire data at my disposal, and several evenings spent in 23scrutinizing the posters with communiqes by electoral commissions will not substitute for thorough studies which should be conducted by local political bodies in voivodships, cities, and gminas. Even so, however, I shall try to provide below at least a handful of information and observations, based chiefly on the results of elections to voivodship people's councils.

Attendance

The overall results for the country have been published. Voter attendance was 55 percent in elections to voivodship people's councils; 49 percent in elections to municipal councils; 48 percent, borough councils; 59 percent, city-gmina councils; and 62 percent, gmina councils.

The results differed markedly in different voivodships. But there is an evident pattern. Fewer citizens voted in the urbanized voivodships, and the least number voted in large cities: in Gdansk, 27.7 percent; in Lublin, 37.6 percent; in Bialystok, 40.8 percent; in Gorzow, 39.2 percent; and in Poznan, 35 percent, although in these cities attendance varied by 5-10 percent depending on the electoral district.

Wherever no data on discrete cities are available, voter attendance in elections to municipal people's councils in a given voivodship provides an indicator. In Katowice Voivodship it amounted to 49.3 percent; in Koszalin Voivodship, 48.1 percent; and in Szczecin Voivodship, 41.9 percent. All this refers to the bottom half of the table. The upper half contains chiefly the less urbanized, more rural voivodships with smaller cities. For example, 56.2 percent of registered voters took part in elections to municipal people's councils in the cities of Rzeszow Voivodship; 56 percent, in Siedlce Voivodship; 51.2 percent, in Suwalki Voivodship; 54.9 percent, in Chelm Voivodship; 59.4 percent, in Zamosc Voivodship; and 60 percent, in Leszno Voivodship.

Against this background the results of the elections to municipal and borough people's councils in Wroclaw Voivodship are surprising. Namely, according to a communique, voter attendance in borough elections, that is, in Wroclaw City alone, was 66.9 percent, which was not only markedly higher than in other cities in Poland but also higher than in the smaller cities, towns, and gminas of Wroclaw Voivodship. Exact figures on elections to borough people's councils were given by WIECZOR

WROCLAWIA. For example, nearly 69 percent of registered voters took part in elections to Downtown Wroclaw people's council, and more than 57 percent in Psie Pole Borough elections. Only in a few districts did attendance fall below 50 percent. The number of voters who did not mark their ballots or who crossed out all the names on the ballots did not deviate from the nationwide average.

For the country as a whole voter attendance was higher for elections in towns and gminas than for elections in large cities, and generally it was the highest for gmina elections. In many gminas attendance exceeded 65-70 percent. There, contact with the authorities is more immediate, for good or bad, and candidates are better known. Rural election districts were generally smaller and often accounted for fewer mandates, which provided an incentive for voting.

When the results for urban and rural voter attendance are combined, in Gdansk Voivodship it averaged 40 percent, whereas in Zamosc, Leszno, and Siedlce voivodships it exceeded 65 percent.

The Voivodship Slates

These elicited controversy during the discussion of electoral rules. It was pointed out that these slates afford no choice to voters and the fear was voiced that unpopular candidates would be named on them.

In nearly every voivodship the candidates won more than the minimum of votes, that is, 50 percent of valid ballots. In all the voivodships on which we have data the number of votes in favor of individual candidates was similar and about 20-30 percent lower than the number of voters. For example, 248,500 voters showed up in Bialystok Voivodship, which meant an attendance of 51.6 percent, but the candidates won from 193,000 to 208,000 votes each, that is, they were elected by 40-43 percent of the registered voters. In Bialsk-Podlaska Voivodship the attendance was 130,500 but the candidates won from 109,000 to 110,000 votes. In Chelm Voivodship the attendance was 106,000 and the candidates won from 84,500 to 86,000 votes.

These differences were more marked in certain urbanized voivodships. For example, in Gdansk Voivodship the number of registered voters was 971,000 but voter attendance amounted to 395,000 and the candidates won from 282,000 to 315,000 votes, while in Lodz Voivodship voter attendance was 455,000 and the candidates won from 309,000 to 331,000 votes.

There appear to exist two possible explanations for these figures, and they could be verified by means of either a sociological study or a scrutiny of the ballots. First, ordinary arithmetic would indicate that such results can happen if each voter crosses out several of the dozen or so names on the voivodship slate and this is averaged. On the other hand, it is possible that a group of voters—

accounting for not more than 20 percent—remained dissatisfied with the existence of the voivodship slate and crossed out all the names on it. In my opinion, both factors were present. Five to 10 percent of the voters crossed out the names of all the candidates, a substantial proportion left the ballots unmarked, and the remainder crossed them out as they saw fit.

A perusal of the names of candidates on the voivodship slates hardly seems to indicate any abuse of these slates by electoral commissions with the object of assuring the election of prominent local persons. At the same time, even despite the slight differences in the votes for discrete candidates, several results deserve attention. For example, in Warsaw, Lodz, and Wroclaw the incumbent chairmen of people's councils Szostek, Serwinski, and Badura made a poor showing and in Gdansk the former Minister of Education Michalowska-Gumowska and Gdansk Voivodship PZPR Secretary Mieczyslaw Chabowski received relatively fewer votes. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the candidates on voivodship slates were in a way privileged, being favored by 30 to 60 percent of the registered voters, so that I can assume that, formally speaking, this was their base of social support. Local candidates in the districts fared less well, but more later on that.

Mandates by Allocation

Observations of the conduct of voters, even though reinforced by calculations for at least several score districts, are of course intuitive, but we will accept the risk.

Let us begin with the voters in the voivodships in which electoral collegiums picked slates of candidates with maximally close characteristics. It appears that here Szczecin would be an exceptionally good example. In the electoral districts of that voivodship, citizens could choose (?) among three servicemen, three employees of ZALOM Plant, three employees of the Port Authority, three DOKP [District Directorate of State Railroads] technicians, three students from the same department of an institution of higher education (!), three reporters from one newspaper, three university instructors, three physicians, etc. It appears that the candidates were even selected so as to be similar in age. Of course, it can be argued that this focused attention solely on the programs and intellectual qualities of the individual candidates without obscuring the issue by such factors as occupation or age. Subjectively speaking, though, it seems that if—as in many other voivodships—this formula (one mandate each for a student, a factory worker, a soldier, etc.) had not been followed so rigidly, voter interest in Szczecin would have been greater.

This kind of "mandates by allocation" was also followed in other voivodships but on a much more modest scale. It concerned, among others, employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of National Defense. The fear that, e.g., militiamen would be less popular than

other candidates is in a way logical, and indeed, in several cases, I noticed that employees of internal affairs offices received somewhat fewer votes than other candidates on voivodship slates. But it also happened that in other districts they won the nomination along with other candidates. This means that, although certain prejudices may affect some voters, a good candidate who is popular in the community and wages an active election campaign is bound to win.

Similarly, I have the impression that candidates who were officers of the ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] or members of a local PZPR or ZSL [United Peasant Party] committee at times met with hostility from a part, a small one besides, of the voters. This can be seen from the results of elections for candidates on voivodship slates. But here too many conflicting instances of quite spectacular successes in electoral districts can be observed.

Altogether, it seems that "mandates by allocation" in the style of Szczecin and certain other voivodships, intended to assure a suitable composition of the council, do not encourage belief in a democratic nature of the elections.

But that is not all about "mandates by allocation." At least in several voivodships a very strange pattern was observed. Namely, the candidates named first on the ballot were overrepresented among the winners. For example, in the elections to the Szczecin Voivodship People's Council, insofar as my calculations are not mistaken, 67 winning candidates had been named first on the ballot and barely 48 had been named second or third. In Gdansk, where three candidates each competed for each office, those named first on the ballot proved to be winners somewhat more often than those named second and third, taken together. In Bydgoszcz the calculus of probability would suggest that about 70 candidates of those named first on the ballot would be elected, but actually 103 out of 162 were! I would hazard the assumption that some voters may not have known enough about candidates and decided to behave in the old manner, that is, they reasoned that, since they had to mark the ballot, why not specify the first name of the list, since it was probably the most important one.

Unmarked Ballots

Traditional behavior also manifested itself in the form of unmarked ballots. Some of the voters who handed in such ballots certainly did so out of habit, despite the high-powered voting campaign. But only a sociological study would serve to determine how numerous that group of voters was. Similarly, only a study of the behavior of voters could help identify persons who considered voting a civic duty but followed the principle of not marking their ballots if they were ignorant about candidates; in a word, voters who deliberately refrained from electing candidates.

The overall group of such voters is quite sizable and in some districts it accounted for—depending on attendance—from several to as much as 30 percent of registered voters. Since attendance was not total, in some districts more than one-half of the voters refrained from choosing among candidates for a mandate.

On the basis of certain analyses I would also hazard the assumption that the number of voters who did not mark their ballots was somewhat smaller in districts where there were only two competing candidates for a mandate. In districts with three candidates that number was higher, because voters knew less about them. This assumption could be verified with the aid of social psychologists or a computer.

The data presented by a majority of electoral commissions also make it possible to assess those groups of voters who acted conversely, that is, crossed out the names of all the competing candidates in a district. In most district only a few percent of the voters did so, but in some as many as 10 percent and more did. Generally, however, voters to whom the elections in general or particular candidates were not to their liking preferred to stay at home rather than to cross out all the names on the ballot.

For the record, we should also note that the number of invalid votes (a torn ballot or a ballot not stamped by the commission) was minimal.

Obligation

Bearing the general impressions in mind, let us consider two districts that are typical of different behavior of the electorate.

Warsaw: Wilanow, Powsin, Siekierki. Attendance very low: 22.8 percent of the registered voters (higher only than in a Nowa Huta district where it was 21.7 percent, according to my observations). The first-named candidate on the ballot was favored by 6.71 percent of the registered voters. The winning candidate (named second on the ballot) was favored by 7.06 percent of the registered voters. A total of 5.65 percent of voters handed in unmarked ballots, while 3.38 percent crossed out the names of both candidates.

And here is the other example, also from Warsaw Voivodship: Tulowice, Kampinos. There, voter attendance was 83.5 percent. The first-named candidate was elected by 34.6 percent of the registered voters. The losing candidate was favored by 18.8 percent of the registered voters. A total of 14.6 percent handed in unmarked ballots, while 15.4 percent crossed out the names of both candidates.

Notwithstanding the saying that those who are absent are in the wrong, it is on purpose that I am providing the figures on attendance by registered voters, because

numerical election results, including the number of voters who stayed home, should be important to the newly elected councilmen. Those who were elected by barely 5, 7, or 10 percent of the registered voters—and this happened quite often in the districts in which voter attendance was extremely low, especially wherever there were three competing candidates for a mandate), should be aware that their base of social support is more than modest. This may be to them cause for feeling frustrated, but it also may motivate them to be more proactive so as to convince the doubters and negatively disposed citizens.

The second of the above examples, on the other hand, shows that, under the new electoral rules, even when voter attendance is high and the winning candidate scores a considerable margin over his competitors, he finds it difficult to receive support from a majority of voters. This is understandable: therein consists the arithmetic of democracy.

A majority of the councilmen were elected by the votes of 10 to 25 percent of citizens.

Preferences

Usually, several months after elections, the Main Statistical Administration publishes a collective portrait of the councilmen, with statistics on their breakdown by age, occupation, etc. Of a certainty, it will do so also this year. However, it would be just as interesting to know particulars about voter preferences regarding individual candidates.

In smaller districts and communities, personal acquaintance with the competing candidates and personal sympathies and antipathies were probably major factors. In large cities, it is not unlikely that a sizable segment of voters knew about the candidates solely from electoral posters or newspapers, while the remainder knew nothing about them.

I would offer two hypotheses on the basis of an analysis of several hundred electoral districts. First, candidates plying certain occupations or professions had by definition, as it were, greater chances, and voter preferences coincided with the hierarchy of occupational prestige. This concerns in particular physicians and teachers, who—this also counted—are relatively more widely known in their communities. It appears that lawyers, bank employees, and university instructors enjoy the trust of the public, but not so journalists. In several instances I observed that the losing candidates were journalists.

My other hypothesis concerns the age of the candidates. My impression is that in districts in which candidates for a mandate differed markedly in age, the agitation for electing younger candidates proved effective. In several districts in Warsaw young candidates were decisive winners. In university cities I observed several instances

in which students won over major contestants. By contrast, pensioners seemed to enjoy less trust and lost out more often, along with blue-collar workers. It would be of great interest if, for example, local branches of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, a kind of popular front] would analyze in detail voter preferences in cases in which candidates were not well known to voters. Perhaps the above hypotheses could thus be verified.

Lastly, another observation. In a greater number of districts than I had expected, the winners led by a considerable margin, sometimes also in districts where candidates were quite similar in age, occupation, etc. This means that, after all, there were many informed voters who cast their ballots knowingly. Despite the scarcity of information about candidates, and despite the anonymity of candidates in large cities, there existed a substantial if unknown group of citizens (perhaps 20 or 30 percent) who were actually interested in promoting their candidates.

Public Figures

The thousands of candidates for councilmen also included a handful of persons more widely known to public opinion. I noticed them among both winners and losers. Thus for example the well-known television journalist Jacek Zemantowski won a seat in the Warsaw People's Council by defeating, among others, the Director of the Youth Publishing Agency Zygmunt Konopka. Another winner was Jerzy Wunderlich, also from television. In Poznan the young and capable reporter of the weekly WPROST Marek Zieleniewski was defeated. Losers in Warsaw included the writer Marek Wawrzkiewicz and the Chairman of the Polish Jazz Society Tomasz Tluczkiewicz. The first was defeated by an engineer from Nowotka Plant and the second, also by an engineer, this time a railroad construction engineer.

In Krakow the historian Professor Pilch won a seat on the council but the economist Professor Kalkowski and the philosopher Professor Lipiec were not as fortunate. The director of a teacher training center in Krakow defeated the director of the House of the Book Czeslaw Migdalski despite the numerous interviews granted recently by the latter. On the other hand, a teacher and vice chairman of the Polonia Society defeated Krzysztof Jasinski, the director of the well-known Krakow "STU" Theater. In Warsaw the film director Krzysztof Szmagier lost the election.

In Lodz the Director of Teatr Wielki Stanislaw Pietras had better luck: he defeated a trade-unionist by a wide margin. A teacher and employee of the Lodz [PZPR] Committee defeated Michal Szewczyk, an actor from Teatr Powszechny. But a mandate was won by another well-known actor, Ludwik Benoit. Another loser in Lodz was the writer Edward Szuster.

In Warsaw a seat on the voivodship council was won by Irena Szewczynska. In Lodz similarly a seat was won by the historian Professor Grabski, who several days later was elected chairman of the Lodz People's Council as well.

A Need for Political Conclusions

The press has published communiqus following sessions of the Presidium of the PRON Executive Committee, the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee, and the Council of State. To be frank, all these communiqus lack a complete political assessment of voter attendance and its breakdown by region. They do not contain many conclusions for the future either, but they abound in expressions of thanks, congratulations, and satisfaction.

In Gdansk the executive board of the voivodship PZPR committee had little more to say—according to press accounts—than that economic factors, the absence of results in solving social and local problems, and the poor supply of consumer goods had a decisive influence on the mood of the public. "In certain milieux that mood provided fertile soil for destructive activities by the political enemy." This says rather little, considering that nearly three-fourths of Gdansk's residents did not vote.

In Gorzow, according to GAZETA LUBUSKA's account of a session of the executive board of the local PZPR committee, "The reasons for the low voter attendance were discussed and it was concluded that they are traceable to the new style of elections and the ignorance of some voters about the rules for nominating candidates for councilmen. Other causes also were pointed out." That is all, period.

The press has published few in-depth commentaries and analyses of the recent elections. It did not even publish readily known personalia about some winners and losers, as far as I can see, which indicates that the journalists began to treat these elections with complete indifference as soon as the electoral campaign was over.

And yet, some related questions and topics for analysis are clearly arising.

First, it is natural to compare the course of elections to people's councils in 1984 and in 1988. Despite the more attractive electoral procedures at present, voter attendance proved to be markedly lower than in 1984. A large number of the voters who showed up preferred, for various reasons, to make no choice among candidates. and this too is not a favorable trend. Also worth noting is the unambiguous sequence: 1984-1985 elections, the referendum on price increases in 1987, and 1988 elections. At the same time, detailed data could indicate to local politicians and activists the extent to which the election results were due to disappointments of a general nature and to their own mistakes.

Second, it is difficult to resist the reflection that, for the second time in 4 years, the elections were conducted in accordance with insufficiently democratic rules. Both in 1984 and in 1988 criticisms offered during discussion of electoral rules were not considered when finalizing these rules. Only after the elections these criticisms were supported publicly by authorities at various levels. Now, too, it has been said that the recent elections were only a stage. One would like to ask politicians at the national level, including Sejm deputies, how does it happen that wisdom is acquired only after rather than before the elections and what was the nature of the obstacles to a better determination of electoral rules, the conduct of the electoral campaign, and the selection of candidates? The identification of these obstacles is necessary.

Third, it is worth considering whether the results of the elections may not finally have resolved several issues which have been discussed for 5 years without reaching a conclusion satisfactory to advocates of substantial electoral reforms. The elections to the Sejm are due a year hence, and it would be politically irresponsible to focus attention once more on such questions as single- or multiple-mandate districts, collective slates without competition, two or three candidates per mandate, the right of not only organizations but also citizens to nominate candidates, the electoral schedule, etc. [as published]. Such questions should have been resolved in a democratic spirit already several years ago. But that was not to be.

In the light of the results of the elections to people's councils, especially in larger cities, and also in view of the political situation as a whole, it appears that the following two questions are crucial:

—how to assure such a composition of candidates as would stimulate the society's interest in voting; in a word, how to assure representativeness of the Sejm;

—how to create a mechanism for genuine competition among programs in elections without, however, encroaching upon domains fundamental to the existence of the state.

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Gap in Advocating, Implementing Worker Self-Management Decried

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[Article by Dr (Prof) Ludwik Bar, head of the Task Force on Legal Problems in the National Economy in the Institute of State and Law of the Polish Academy of Sciences]

[Text] The concept of self-management by a workforce in an enterprise is alive and is defending itself. But it is defenseless in the face of various forces which are averse,

or even inimical, to it, and also those who say that the application of workforce self-management has had an unfavorable impact on the state of the economy.

I feel it is my duty to defend the concept and the legal institution of workforce self-management in a state enterprise, created by law in 1981. As a member of the Economic Reform Commission, I was asked in 1980 to be the chairman of Task Force X on self-management matters and the legal bases for the functioning of the economy, and was also given the job of preparing the first draft law on workforce self-management. Since that time I have unceasingly devoted myself to the matter of workforce self-management and other state economic organizations. I have frequently criticized the implementation of the self-management law, pointing out the neglect, disregard and violation of its provisions, and warned against the dangers.

In view of the critical social and economic situation, I am asking the public to judge and assess the conditions which have been created for the implementation of Thesis 17, "Directions of Economic Reform," and the related law on state-enterprise workforce self-management, which reads as follows: "Workers groups in the state sector (in industry, agriculture and other fields) will be given the rights of true co-managers of the national assets and the systemic conditions will be created to improve management efficiency."

No one has deleted or replaced this thesis. Therefore, it is still in effect, as an expression of the political will to assign rights and duties to the individual and the workforce.

Unfortunately, the legislature has shown no loyalty to Thesis 17, beginning with the first laws on reform down to the recent laws passed in October 1987. Also, the practice of applying the self-management law showed a lack of respect for the desires of the legislators, i.e., the Sejm. The enterprise workforces observed this attentively and questioned the friendly attitude of the political and governmental decisionmakers towards the development of workforce self-managements. As time goes on, this doubtfulness breeds distrust of the state leadership and causes passiveness in workforces. And passiveness is a denial of initiative and is inimical to enterprise.

Distortions in the Legislation

Thesis 17 was ignored even while the provisions of the law on state-enterprise workforce self-management were being decided. It did not include PKP (Polish State Railways) enterprises, PPTiT (Polish Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Service), LOT (Polish Air Lines), PZU (State Insurance Bureau), banks, and forestry enterprises. It was announced that the organizing and functioning of self-managements in these enterprises will be regulated by separate laws applying to these enterprises only. Yet to this day the matter of self-managements in PKP and in forestry enterprises has not been regulated

by law. Nor has a workforce self-management been established in PPTiT, and in 1984 PPTiT's legal status as an enterprise was withdrawn and it was described as a "state organization." But this legislative maneuver does not exempt it from the duty of conforming with the principle expressed in Thesis 17, because the law on communication dated 1984 did not give PPTiT the rights of true co-manager of the national assets.

To this day, despite the promises, this issue has not been settled. Nor has any state or political organ been found which would demand a report on the execution of the legislature's decision. Not even the Sejm. Here, too, the lack of defense for the concept of a workforce self-management became apparent.

Discrimination Against Intellectuals

In writing the law on workforce self-management in state enterprises, the workforces in other state economic organizations were not overlooked. Until the method of their participation in management was regulated by a separate law, the workforces of these organizations could apply the principles contained in the law on workforce self-management in state enterprises. This applied to scientific-research institutes and state-treasury plants working for the national economy, e.g., the law on research and development organizations in 1985 repealed this provision of the law on enterprise workforce self-management, depriving employees of scientific-research institutes of the rights given to them in 1981. Employees in arts institutes were treated similarly. They, too, were not given the rights of true co-managers of the national assets. These restrictions also affected thousands of employees in state organizations, who now feel wronged and discriminated against. Failure to give them a share of responsibility again creates a basis for passivity and for solving economic matters through informal arrangements.

Brakesmen

Even where the law provides for self-managements, the practice is often far removed from the concept. The formation of self-managements and the startup of their activities was halted by the imposition of martial law and then by the postponement of decisions on the renewal of activities. The widely applied practice of appointing enterprise directors without conducting the competition required by the law was a blow for the implementation of workforce self-management. Approximately 1,500 directors were appointed this way. When the case found itself in the Supreme Court, it was ruled that the court entering the new director into the register is not required to verify whether a competition had been conducted. Another provision of the law became defenseless. And workers' councils are also defenseless in this matter.

Another example: Art 35 of the law on state-enterprise workforce self-management reads: "Workers' councils in enterprises can communicate with each other on matters of cooperation or the undertaking of joint actions." In the discussion on the draft law on workforce self-management during 1980-1981, it was decided that it would contain no provisions permitting workers' councils to form vertical structures. But it was decided that it was absolutely essential to establish a legal basis for communication and joint actions by workers' councils in a horizontal arrangement.

It turned out that the actions of local decisionmakers, and sometimes even those at the top level, make it impossible for the worker's councils to take advantage of this provision of the law. For example, a minister instructed a director to halt the execution of a workers' council resolution on organizing a meeting of worker's councils' representatives. The workers' council looked for defense in the courts, including the Supreme Court. Without success.

Such practices discourage the workers' councils and it may be said that Art 35 does not fulfill the social function assigned to it. The opponents of direct communication between workers' councils constantly express various doubts as to the reasonableness and scope of matters included in the allowed communications. Some of their attempts to arrange such meetings are treated almost as anti-state activities. Attention should also be called to the practice of respecting the provisions of Art 4 of the law on state enterprises, which state that "state organs may make decisions on matters dealing with the activities of state enterprises only in instances provided for in the law." But even then the workers council has the right to enter an objection to the decision made regarding the enterprise by the organ which supervises it. If, despite the objection, the minister or governor does not change his decision, the workers' council may seek defense in court. It has happened that the "official instruction" issued by ministers had no basis in law. But the court did not defend the workers' council, taking the position that the "official instruction" constituted advice and not a ruling document. In addition, it maintained that the right to exercise control is basis for ruling intervention.

The provisions, instituted in 1983, in the law on a specific regulation which gave the ministers and governor the right to determine the salaries of directors and to make other decisions connected with their work relationship, have not and do not serve the implementation of enterprise self-dependence and self-management. The 1983 law has already been repealed, but the rights granted have remained, with detriment to the position of the workers' councils.

In the practice of applying the laws on workforce self-management and on state enterprises, many examples can be shown where the work of the workers' council has been made more difficult. Some directors say that that

workers' council is good which does not interfere in management matters. They refuse it the right to look into some matters. They demand that council meetings be held after working hours, and if during working hours, only with their permission. Council members are restricted, or actually refused access to certain documents and records prior to a meeting. They are not furnished materials, and especially reports, suggestions, and proposals on which the council is supposed to act.

There are well-known cases of ignoring the provisions of the law on protecting the legal rights of a member of the workers' council, the ability of the council to communicate, and disputes regarding the interpretation of provisions pertaining to income and profits.

Sometimes the methods of "drawing-in" enterprises into new concerns (organizations of enterprises) are deserving of particular criticism. Economic forecasts and reports on economic conditions, prepared by independent experts, are seldom presented to workers' councils. The exercise of influence by the "higher-ups," promises of more raw materials and better wages, are a widespread practice. The result is that the workers' council votes to join a company or a new organization, not because it is convinced of its economic efficiency, but because it is afraid of the unfavorable consequences of refusing the proposition of the "higher-ups." Can anyone prove that this did not happen in the case of "Megat," "Elpol," or other similar organizations?

Inadequate Protection of the Courts

Prior to 1981 the courts did not concern themselves with enterprise matters and workforce self-managements. In the new, post-August laws, the courts were assigned the task of settling certain disputes between the workers' council and the director of the enterprise, and between the workers' council and the parent organ and other organ exercising supervision over the enterprise. The great endeavor of social renewal and economic reform appeared before the judges as a new phenomenon. Court verdicts were issued which did not always interpret and apply the law in the new spirit. This was the case not only in the regional and provincial courts, but also in the Supreme Court. These opinions are stem from an examination of Supreme Court verdicts, e.g., on matters pertaining to the observance of the requirement that a competition must be conducted to fill the position of director, the protection of the rights of a workers' council member, or the right of councils to communicate among each other. Failure to obtain the court's protection by one enterprise caused mistrust and passiveness on the part of other workers' councils. Does it pay to take a matter to court and risk the enmity of the local decision-maker when the court does not defend the rights of self-management? That is why in the consultations it was said, "We know that we have the right, but we will not go to court because we are afraid." This is a symptom of the democracy of fear.

Critics—From Practice and From Science

Practitioners, and even scientific workers, sometimes try to weaken the value and usefulness of workforce self-management. They do not admit in their publications and discussions that they are against the concept of workforce self-management and maintain that they are guided only by a concern about the economy. They say that workers' councils are not very competent and are not able to cope with the duties that the law assigns them. But they do not cite any examples of harmful decisions made by a workers' council which would substantiate the negative opinions of the councils expressed by the administration and certain scientific workers. It has already frequently happened in our history that someone expressed the opinion that society is still not mature enough to have local or occupational self-management. Workforce self-management is a young institution, it will take years for workers to learn it, and therefore, it will take patience. It is not yet time for judgment, but it is high time to be favorable to it and help it.

The accusation is made that the workers' councils are not responsible, that only a one-person management can assign responsibility and enforce it. That is what the advocates of managerism say. It is impossible not to be opposed to this. First of all, it should be remembered that for decades, one-person management prevailed. If the work of the directors and higher decisionmakers was poor, were the guilty parties really held responsible? What kind of responsibility

But a basic answer is necessary. There are many collegial bodies in our country: the Sejm, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers, the people's councils, workers' councils, and others. If someone charges that it is difficult to hold a workers' council, as a collegial body, responsible, then the matter should be stated more broadly. Namely, why is not the matter of the responsibility of other collegial bodies, e.g., the people's councils, raised? They decide many important matters, but the matter of responsibility is raised only in the case of the workers' councils.

The activeness of workers' councils is assessed variously. Often opinions are expressed that only 10 to 30 percent of the councils are active. In specific cases questions are asked, why is the workers' council passive? Why doesn't it execute its rights and duties? And the reverse, why is a specific workers' council very active?

Those who do not like workforce self-management have more or less the same answer: The workforce self-management is passive and has little interest in its rights or duties because its members are probably under the influence of Solidarity members. But when a council shows initiative, undertakes tasks and demands rights, it is said that this one, too, is acting under the influence of Solidarity members.

I once heard from a person on the political Olympus that there are problems with a certain workers' council. In reply to a question about their cause, I heard that most of the council members are members of the former Solidarity. When I reminded the person of the assertion that had been made that it was not important where someone comes from, but where he is going, I heard that we don't know where they are going.

In the Grip of Old Habits

The defenselessness of a workforce self-management is caused, to a large degree, by the disparities in the interpretation of the provisions of the law. The opponents of renewal and reform, and the decisionmakers who do not like it, read and explain the provisions of the law on workforce self-management in the old way. That is, so that it favors the retention of the present centralized, bureaucratic system of management. For example, we continue to see the parent organ as the organ of supervision, with its former jurisdiction and practices, and groups of enterprises were from the very beginning ascribed the attributes of an association of enterprises.

Since 1981 many legal decisions have been made. Therefore, a uniform interpretation of the provisions of the new law should have been provided. This did not happen. The provisions of the economic-reform laws were explained extemporaneously. It was done by the mass media, the Ministry of Justice, the Sejm Commission for Workers' Self-Management, and many other institutions. Sometimes the explanations differed, and this hampered the application of the laws.

In order to settle the doubts, Task Force X for self-management affairs and the legal bases for the functioning of the economy already at the beginnings of reform proposed that a committee be appointed in the secretariat of the Commission on Economic Reform to explain the provisions of the law on state enterprise and on workforce self-management. The committee was supposed to include representatives of the Council of Ministers Office, the Ministry of Justice, the Sejm Commission on Workers' Self-Management, and the Commission on Economic Reform. In this committee, compromise explanations were to be formulated. Disputes would be settled in the Commission for Economic Reform. A draft of the legal document on appointing a committee to explain the provisions was sent to the secretary of the Commission for Economic Reform, and there it stalled. And explanations of the provisions of the law continue to be formulated in various state institutions.

When the Center for Self-Management Studies was formed in 1987, the legal committee of the Center's Program Council, acknowledged that the establishment by the Council of State of a mandatory interpretation of certain provisions of the law on workforce self-management was extremely urgent and indispensable. Unfortunately, the Council of State has thus far not issued an

interpretation and the workers' councils continue to be defenseless. The workforce self-management was also defenseless in the discussion on the theses of the second stage of economic reform.

At a meeting of Task Force X in April 1987, an opinion was issued calling attention to the neglect in implementing self-management in enterprises and other state economic organizations. The opinion, contained in a report consisting of several pages, was presented to the secretary of the Economic Reform Commission in May 1987 with a request that it be forwarded to its members before the results of the discussion on the theses of the second stage of economic reform are examined. But although a year has passed, the report by Task Force X has not been given to the members of the Economic Reform Commission, and in a discussion at the Commission's meeting no evaluation was made as to the degree to which the thesis on workforce self-management has been implemented.

How Do We Defend Self-Management?

The resolutions of the Sejm and other state and political organs are not sufficient for a workforce self-management to effectively function. It is good that the Center for Self-Management Studies published a brochure, "Party and State Leadership on Workforce Self-Management." But questions arise at the consultations and seminars of activists in the self-managements—why are not the Sejm resolutions and General Jaruzelski's words implemented in the provinces, towns and workplaces? Based on my military and combat experience, the questions can be answered as follows: "God is on high, the commander-in-chief is far away, and here a corporal is in charge."

In order for the defenselessness of the concept of workforce self-management of enterprises and other state organizations to be replaced by respect for the law and mutual trust of workforces and state organs, the following actions, at a minimum, should be considered without delay:

—distribute the text of the provisions of the law on state enterprises and on workforce self-management and make it available to employees in the national economy; it is not enough to publish descriptions; employees should learn to read and execute the law and become accustomed to doing so;

—permanent local workers' self-management centers, where activists in workers' self-management will be trained, must be organized and conducted;

—in the programs of courses, conferences, consultations, and self-education, more attention and time must be given to the execution, by the workers' council, of the practical role of an enterprise manager;

—the activities of an enterprise workforce must be made more like that of the research and creative work of the scientific-research centers, both the higher schools, the Polish Academy of Sciences, and other research and development institutions and organizations. The aim should be for every large production enterprise, as well as service enterprise, to maintain permanent ties with a responsible scientific institution; occasional ventures are not enough;

—the workforce self-management of an enterprise, and especially the workers' council, must be provided the conditions which will enable it to implement the rights and duties defined by the law;

—the will of the legislature, which deemed that a workers' self-management is the representative of the workforce, encompassing all of the enterprise's employees, should be respected. The workers' council is subordinate only to the workforce, which elects, evaluates and dismisses it. The organ of workforce self-management, and also the organ of the enterprise, is a workers' council, and not an organ of political organization, a trade union organ, a managing collective, or a similar extra-legal organization. Failure to respect, or even ignoring the legal status of a workers' council, deprives it of its power to exert an influence on the workforce and the external organs in case a difficult situation arises and disputes occur;

—discrimination against workforces in research and development organizations must be stopped immediately and an amended law establishing legal forms of self-management, of a co-manager nature, must be put into effect—as provided in Thesis 17.

I have called attention to many matters which indicate the sources and causes of the defenselessness of the concept of workforce self-management in enterprises. It appears from them that whether the concept of workforce self-management succeeds depends not just on the workforces, but also on many organizations, offices, and social and political organs.

9295

**University Student Association Position on
Strikes, Pay Increases**
26000475a Warsaw ITD in Polish
No 24, 12 Jun 88 p 20

[Article by Małgorzata Jankowska: "Mere Slogans—Not Enough"]

[Text] The major topics of the second plenum of the Main Council of the Association of Polish Students were preparations for active participation in the life of higher schools, the quantitative and qualitative development of the organization, and the evaluation of the current situation in higher schools.

The speech delivered by Jan Wojnilko, the deputy chairman of the Main Council of the Association, at the beginning of the two-day meeting was also devoted to these issues.

"It is a well-known truth," we read in the speech, "that the absence of worry is not the same as peace. We have been dealing with such a situation at the higher schools since March 1988....Today nearly all of Poland is holding its hand out for money. There is something of an absurd demand in this pleading—the last request of someone committing suicide. How can students, young intellectuals or, as has been said recently, the lumpen-intelligentsia uncritically support all of the demands of the large-industrial working class? It is not news that that group occupies a privileged position in the wage hierarchy. One can anticipate that uncritical meeting of their demands would lead to further pauperization of the intelligentsia and ridicule for the government wage policy.

"Against the background of the considered and peaceful position of the majority of society, extremist positions stand out. This also applies to the academic community. Today at manifestations and demonstrations we hear shouts of 'down with the communist bloc,' 'down with Yalta.' This behavior can only be described as political infantilism."

That is not the way—in sum, would be the sense of the statements of representatives of various academic communities on the recent events at many higher schools.

"Looking through the Program Declaration of the Association of Polish Students at the Warsaw University," [said] Zbyszek Szczypinski, chairman of the University Council of the Association of Polish Students at Warsaw University, "I found in it many proposals which have appeared in the materials of our organization during the Association's six-year history. I have the impression, however, that people listen to us less. As if we are being punished for having the status of a legal organization. We did not support the strike at Warsaw University, because we regarded it as an illegal and, moreover, ineffective form of protest."

The participants in the plenum adopted a resolution, the position of the Association of University Students on the problems of the academic community which presents the most important social and political proposals of the Association.

"The Association of Polish Students cannot accept the rapidly worsening material situation of the students. The declining number of those on stipends, students earning a living at the cost of their studies, poor food in the cafeterias, crowding, decapitalization of the dormitories are facts that indicate that the fate of students interests no one other than them. The university administration is doing nothing to make it easier for students to learn and

benefit the country. The policy of saving money in the academic community is making it better to be an unskilled worker than to get an education.

"The Association of Polish Students says no to this situation.

"We demand:

- the relevance of programs of study to future professional work;
- increasing the influence of students on the program and course of studies;
- appropriate use of a graduate's qualifications;
- appropriate wages and reasonable housing prospects;
- promotion of the intellectual elite and individuality;
- freedom of expression in the official media;
- quick, effective, consistent social and economic changes;
- cheap, untaxed textbooks.

"We demand:

- making the constantly devalued student stipends realistic;
- improvement of the quality of meals and changes in the operations of the student cafeterias;
- investment in the student dormitories so that students can live in them decently;
- improvement in the health care provided the academic community;

"We oppose:

- starting wages after university study being severalfold lower than wages for graduates from vocational schools;
- the excessive expansion of the administration of higher schools, which burdens the stipend funds;
- access to studies only for those who can afford them."

The position concludes with the following declaration:

"We are not striking, because we put daily, hard work above empty political slogans. We will not abandon the defense of proper student interests at any price."

Much was said and debated about student self-government at the plenum. The members of the authorities of the Association considered what shape it should have in order to be a genuine representative of the academic community and not an instrument in the hands of the university authorities.

The conception of building a self-government modeled after a parliament where all active political groups at a higher school would be represented gained the most support. And as in a real parliament, opponents would meet in this forum, talk, discuss, and perhaps form alliances.

Robert Kwiatkowski, secretary for foreign affairs of the Main Council of the Association of Polish Students, warned against broadening the rights of the self-government too much:

"Let us not make the self-government a new super student organization," he said; "that is not its role. Let it be simply a representative of all students (self-government—a parliament would probably be a good solution), a co-host of the university with an important voice in the most essential issue of the higher school. That suffices completely, and our representatives must be included in it."

"Until now we have been unable to penetrate the self-government structures." As Krzysztof Domaradzki, head of the Economic Section of the Main Council showed, "from the beginning of the Association of Polish Students, we have constantly complained of a small and ineffective participation by the representatives of the association in student self-government; we are attempting to change this, and nothing comes of it."

Will it end this time with good intentions?

The Association is frequently accused of blocking things in order to determine everything, the development of other organizations at higher schools.

Everything indicates that in the near future such organizations will be formed.

And what is the Association's reaction?

"We are for organizational pluralism within the framework of the law," we read in the speech of the Executive Committee of the Main Council of the Association of Polish Students. "We do not oppose and never have opposed the formation of other organizations."

All the more so, for in the opinion of many of the participants at the plenum the monopoly is beginning to damage the Association. The Association of Polish Students is burdened with responsibility for the situation at the higher schools; it is responsible for the many unresolved issues.

The activists of the Association are not afraid of competition.

"If new organizations are formed at higher schools, their strength will surely be great, but only initially. Later we will be able to defeat them," said Andrzej Sochacki, the representative of the Lodz University. "This will be all the more so for they will operate in the same conditions as we do, they will work with the same students, and the same problems, with which we are struggling, are waiting for them."

The quantitative state (number of members) is frequently judged by the authorities, including the university authorities, as an indicator of the Association's influence on the student community.

Thus, the next topic, the selection of personnel for the organization, appears: attracting and converting to the organization the best, the most talented. They considered what to offer the students of the first and "zero" years, for they will determine the future of the Association.

This topic has been discussed at each successive plenum of the Main Council of the Association of Polish Students; this time nothing new was invented. The existing ways of presenting and promoting the Association were shown, such as: the "open door" action, adaptation camps, action by the association during the entrance examinations and during student internships.

The fact that the Association dared finally to criticize the organizational principles and the method of carrying them out is encouraging. In the position of the plenum on student internships, we read:

"We are opposed to every type of shoddiness, especially shoddiness that teaches lack of esteem for good work. Thus, we are opposed to poorly organized, obligatory student internships. Everything indicates that the student internships prepared by the higher schools will be another waste of time for students and a waste of money for the enterprises."

Assuming that the Association's place is everywhere there are students, the participants in the plenum, members of the Main Council of the Association of Polish Students, expressed a desire to participate in the implementation of student internships but only if the higher schools insure the participants appropriate socio-material conditions, well organized work, and financial resources for their free time. Sloppy organization of student internships causes more harm than good.

Stanislaw Gabrielski, head of the Political and Organizational Section of the PZPR Central Committee and guest of the plenum, listened closely to the young people's discussion. He agreed that the problems of the young intellectuals can no longer wait for solution. We must finally change this unhealthy situation in which the

intellectuals are the lowest paid professional group in the PRL. The reflection that the problems of which the young people spoke are the same problems their older colleagues had 10 to 15 years ago. That reflection first amused and then forced consideration of the effectiveness and sense of the organization's activities.

"I do not understand which monopoly you mentioned," said Stanislaw Gabrielski. "Only 20 percent of the students belong to your organization. Where is the monopoly? You must fight for greater influence in the academic community. You cannot resign from participation in the student self-government; you must shape it so that through it you can reach your goals."

At the end of his speech, the plenum guest discussed the recent events at higher schools.

"Student strikes were brutally inspired," he said. "The next wave of unrest in Poland had to be caused at all costs, and young people had to be drawn into it. I also think that the current situation is partly the responsibility of the teaching personnel. They frequently not only did not discourage students from participating in this type of manifestation, but even encouraged them. Wherever the position of the university authorities was determined, there were no strikes. the Gdansk Polytechnic is an excellent example."

"The student organization, the organization of young intellectuals must be able to think for the future and not just about the issues of its own community. It must be able to evaluate and take positions on reality. Why do you express yourselves so slowly on the issues facing the country, general political issues. I encourage you to think pragmatically; make sensible recommendations, proposals; throwing out slogans for issues to be resolved is not enough."

13021

Warsaw Rector Recalls May Strike, Views Student Needs

26000475b Poznan WPROST in Polish
No 25, 19 Jun 88 p 4-6

[Interview with Prof Grzegorz Bialkowski, rector of Warsaw University, by Piotr Grochalski: "Suspended Thinking?"]

[Text]

[Question] The times are strange when a poet, a scholar, becomes a politician. Have you found in yourself a calling for repairing the world?

[Answer] I think that just as you cannot be a true scholar if you are devoid of a inexhaustible desire to know, you cannot be a good politician if you do not feel the desire to possess authority, to gain it. This last feeling is completely foreign to me.

[Question] This is what the rector of the largest university in Poland says, whose office lies half-way between the building of the central committee and the King's Castle.

[Answer] This is what a man, whom history has mocked, says. One must truly be unlucky in order to find oneself in the situation in which I was in 1984. As you may remember, at that time the new law on higher education was in force, and it said that the rector is to be elected in secret, democratic elections by the electoral collegium of the institution.

[Question] The law formally, however, gave the minister, at that time Prof Benon Miskiewicz, the ability to veto within two weeks after the election.

[Answer] In May 1984 the electoral collegium gave Prof Klemens Szaniawski the position of rector. We were convinced that in an almost open conflict between the academic community and the authorities, this election would be rejected as an open provocation and Prof Miskiewicz would take advantage of his right of veto. Nervous efforts to find someone who would have a chance to be elected in authentic elections by the 300 members of the electoral collegium and be accepted by the authorities began. The days passed, and the ministry was silent. The veto was announced on the afternoon of the last day.

[Question] This "providential father" was found in you?

[Answer] In any case, I was told that. There were dozens of exhausting conversations during which the most varied arguments were put forth until, finally, after the massive working over, I broke with my principles and agreed. The elections, however, were delayed by the minister for six months. I judged that everything was changed, that this was pretext enough to withdraw from this undertaking. I arranged a year-long trip to Italy, and then went to see one of the more influential individuals at our institution and told him that in the new situation I felt my commitment of May had lost its validity.

[Question] After which you suddenly changed your mind.

[Answer] At that time a certain group of people began to promote its candidate.

[Question] This probably completely untied your hands?

[Answer] You know, agitation for someone is always agitation against someone, implicitly, or even perhaps, explicitly. It is one thing not to be elected, because you do not want to be, and something else if the electors do not want to, because the individual is not suitable. What was I supposed to do? I had to defend my image. I stood in the free, authentic elections, and the electoral collegium trusted me.

[Question] Three years later in the Belvedere, a member of the Consultative Council of the chairman of the Council of State said: "Those people who want to enter the authority structures with the aim of changing that system in one way or another...are afraid that the system will change them rather than they the system...that the system will deform them in a way they did not desire initially." Were you worried by such fears?

[Answer] I always look around with disbelief that what I see, that the real world, that reality is so tolerant of having its arms twisted, closes its eyes to the daily pressures of the situation which is shockingly absurd. I note the need to resist, to remember the artificiality of this world, and the wonder of a child at what I see. How does one do it? It is so simple. It suffices to refer to the sense of normality that each of us carries in ourselves.

[Question] You do not think that we have lost the proper sense of this word? That our drama lies in the fact that today we want to live normally but we do not know how to do it?

[Answer] Only those who have ceased defending themselves, who have allowed themselves to be told that nothing depends on them, that they can change nothing, and must allow themselves to be rolled out by abnormality, accept it, do not know how. I will give you an example. I met with the leader of the banned Independent Association of Students at Warsaw University and then I spoke with representatives of the university board of the Association of Polish Students. And imagine that I told them the same thing, in the same language, in the same words. If you say the truth, you do not have to modify the words depending on the situation. That is normal. The truth is something normal. Lies can only be common, they cannot be normal.

[Question] A few weeks before the strike at the Lenin Steelworks, during a speech at the Senate of Warsaw University you said that in the difficult moments coming in the near future, the university will survive only if the community acts together.

[Answer] Variety, varied colors, multiple dimensions, separate group interests are a natural characteristic of every human society. This is also true of the academic community—one of the most sensitive political barometers in Poland. I believe that the vast majority of us are aware of the greater importance of the interests of the institution in situations in which its existence is threatened. I think then that we have a sufficient sense of solidarity not to allow the institution to become a lump of metal that inevitably falls into the void.

[Question] On Thursday, 5 May, a strike began at Warsaw University. On the whole it was calm, if one does not count the incidents at the gates. You did not fear the students would go into the streets?

[Answer] I was convinced this would not happen. I was seriously afraid of something else. That day society was told that units of the special riot police had entered the Lenin Steelworks. I thought that if the strike at Warsaw University continued through the night that it too could end suddenly. That would have been a catastrophe for the students and for the university, and for me a great personal tragedy. Thus, I wanted to reach an understanding with the strike committee so that the strike would end as quickly as possible, in any case that same day. This is what happened.

[Question] Did you recognize the sense of striking at the university?

[Answer] No, I thought that for intellectuals to protest in this way is unnatural, even sad. Does a strike mean that thinking has been suspended for a time? But that is the area of activity of these people? Further, there is the honor of the university. Awareness of it ought to lead people to more substantive forms of protest. I did, however, understand the reasons for the students' strike.

[Question] Some of the students thought that you did not morally support them because you were not present during the strike. Did political common sense make your decision?

[Answer] Besides my attitude toward the strike, which I have mentioned, I would add that the law does not foresee strikes at higher institutions. I could not allow myself to act against the law, to set an example of illegal action. The essence of the position I hold would have suffered.

[Question] Your appearance on television after the strike at Warsaw University aroused many positive commentaries on your intellectual openness and civic courage.

[Answer] Yes, these commentaries reached me, but the number of anonymous complaints to me also increased after my appearance. Although there were enough of them earlier. So I had become used to such texts like the one from the person who so "boldly" hid behind the pseudonym "grunt" wrote to me a few months ago: "You, traitors, the senate of Warsaw University, and you, the greatest traitor, rector." The text indicates that Onyszkiewicz is both a Ukrainian and Jew, that I protect individuals of that nationality, that I permit them to carry out dirty work on us, that I sell them our national culture for dollars, etc. I also received a "few words of truth" from some anonymous writer in Poznan. I read extensive fragments of this interesting correspondence, full of "positive comments," at a session of the Senate. I told the senators: "I am not egoistic. Why should I have the sole pleasure of this reading, inasmuch as they are writing about you." What truly saddens me, above all, is the fact that many of the letters written by people friendly to me are also anonymous.

[Question] On 10 May, Tuesday, at 1 pm, there was supposed to be a demonstration at Warsaw University. A few hours before the designated time, a communique from the organizers of the demonstration appeared on the announcement board that six students had been arrested by the militia.

[Answer] I realized that their arrest threatened to convert the demonstration into an open-ended occupational strike. Thus, I had to intervene in this situation. I said that in this situation I cannot take responsibility for what might happen at the university. My partners in the discussion were convinced.

[Question] If, however, history plays another trick on you and puts you up against the wall, what will you choose? Saving face or keeping your position?

[Answer] The academic community of the university elected me because it trusted me. As long as I retain this trust, I cannot resign. I will attempt to avoid conflicts and find compromises as long the price paid for that is reasonable and the gain profitable. There is, however, some boundary beyond which there can be no compromise. Then I can only say "no."

[Question] In your last speech at the Consultative Council you said that "a significant portion of the citizenry expressed its distrust...for the personnel who are implementing these reforms by its absence or even negative votes during the referendum." What conclusions, in your opinion, should be drawn from this?

[Answer] One surely stands out—making fundamental personnel changes. And it is not a question of changing, "in accord with good traditions," only the places around the table, but of decisively broadening the circle of those who sit around it in order to play. The objection is frequently made that the opposition does not want to participate with the current authorities. But it will not want to as long as attempts are made to atomize it and win over separately its individual representatives.

[Question] Observing your actions, one could get the impression that you are attempting to find a model of a democratic academic life in which the opposition would be a constant element.

[Answer] It is not possible to constantly destroy something, that is, which always was. You must open your eyes and understand how great a price we have paid for implementing such a catastrophic social philosophy. It is high time to create rules so that each side that participates is aware of its responsibility. I think that on a national scale this is the only road that does not lead to national suicide. We should aim for such a situation in which the opposition is aware that it, too, is responsible for the political and economic situation of the country. And this is possible only if it is no longer repressed and has some rights. It will not happen, however, as long as the people of the current political establishment do not

overcome years of suspicion and nervousness toward the so-called enemy within themselves and recognize the fact that opposition not only does not hamper or threaten the exercise of authority but rather helps in the exercise of authority. In our current situation, we know, that sooner or later the authorities must cooperate with the opposition. "They must," assuming that thinking in rational categories wins out. In any case, common sense tells us not to lose the opportunity of cooperation with the opposition, even the extra-systemic opposition. In other words, we should not brutalize the political relations between the authorities and groups that are inconvenient to the authorities. Indicating differences does not have to be done by slapping your opponent on the face. Because later it will be difficult to have the courage to invite him to a common table.

13021

TV, Radio Protocol Signed With Swiss
26000473c Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
4-5 June 88 p 8

[Article: "Polish-Swiss Cooperation"]

[Text] (PAP) A Swiss delegation of the Society for Radio and Television (SSR), headed by the director general, Antonio Riva, has been visiting Poland. On 3 June, Janusz Roszkowski, chairman of the Committee on Radio and Television Affairs, and SSR Director General Riva signed a multiyear protocol for Polish-Swiss cooperation in the field of radio and television.

10790

**Ecological Burden of Silesian Coal Exploitation
Noted**

26000473b Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
3 June 88 p 3

[Letter to the editor by Jolanta Matiakowska, originally published in TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA, 27 May: "Coal Versus the City"]

[Text] "The capital of Silesia is living through a drama. There seems to be a paradox that this comes from excess wealth. On the one hand, there is the coal in the ground, and on the other hand, the living city. The decision was made that coal under Katowice would continue to be mined. The safety pillar under the city was moved in 1970. This was done under certain conditions which were to have assured the city at least a relative degree of safety and also to repair unavoidable damage.

"In practice only the plans for exploitation were carried out. The coal was extracted, but no efforts were made to mitigate the effects of extraction. In 1970 when the road to the coal was opened for use, all the related conditions were easily formulated and accepted. Later these conditions were set aside.

"Today the city's technical infrastructure is in terrible condition. When the sewers back up or the water pipes break, it is a real nightmare. The Rawa is not a river anymore, and the main drain for waste water flows uphill in several places right in Katowice. Several hundred hectares of Katowice forest are flooded and have been written off as losses. It is not only the living that are aware of the interference with the water level. Water seeps in underground at the new municipal cemetery recently constructed on Murckowska Street.

"Industrial dumps occupy more than 10 percent of the city's area, and they keep spreading. What is more, the residential buildings are simply falling apart. On average in Katowice repairs are made each year to 20 buildings affected by mining, but the figure should be at least three times this many.

"This situation will not change until the reparation for mining damage ceases to be solely at the good grace (and disgrace) of the municipal renovation enterprises. This situation is the cause of the greatest social opposition. Coal is good for the whole country, but the effects of getting it out of the ground are felt only by the residents of Silesia.

"Alongside paying for the damages done by mining, what is standing in the way of helping with their physical removal? This is a constant subject of dispute between the landowners and managers of Silesia and the mining industry. Silesia cannot resolve this on its own, unless the matter is settled legally and systematically. The problem is very urgent, given the successive stages planned for extracting coal from the most densely built up part of the city, where shaking the largest buildings of the Silesian capital and whole neighborhoods may prove perilous."

10790

ROMANIA

Review of History Book by Lucretiu Patrascu
27000088 Cluj-Napoca TRIBUNA in Romanian
19 May 88 p 8

[Article by Vasile Puscas: "The Spirit of the Revolution"]

[Text] During the years 1937-39 Lucretiu Patrascu published several studies on the beginnings of Romanian capitalism in the prestigious magazine VIATA ROMANEASCA. Although his intention had been to deal with the theme in the three Romanian principalities, in the end he stayed with certain aspects of the history of Moldavia and Wallachia from the middle of the 18th century to the end of Cuza's reign. He returned to the same questions, of course in far greater detail, in "A Century of Social Unrest, 1821-67," in which he also explained the manner in which the work was conceived. His insistence on "the true 1848" is demonstrated by the

comparison of the texts in *VIATA ROMANEASCA* and in the above book. Thus, one notes that in the magazine he was more concerned with tactical issues, strategy, and the forces that participated in the revolution and did not pay great attention to the program, events, and consequences of the revolution.

Concerning the place of the 1848 revolution in the context of the modern Romanian society, Lucretiu Patrascu's views are in keeping with the entire materialistic-historical historiography in our country between the two world wars. Picking up Nicolae Balcescu's ideas in "The Revolutions in the History of the Romanians," he pointed out the "direct connection" between the 1848 revolution and the revolution led by Tudor Vladimirescu, as can be seen from the frequent unrest that shook the two principalities between those two periods. Above and beyond his intention to pinpoint the beginning of the modern era, Lucretiu Patrascu wanted to show that the revolution did not end either in 1821 or in 1848, and that the uprising of the Pandurs [Tudor Vladimirescu's troops] marked "only the first stage of an eventful historical process whose chapter has not yet been written." (1941, publisher's note)

Lucretiu Patrascu wrote about the revolution in Moldavia and Wallachia and, although he began with the Iasi events, he did not view chronology as the most important criterion. He studied them separately with a view to placing us in two antithetical situations from the viewpoint of organization. He dubbed the events that took place in Iasi on 27 March 1848 "the abortive Moldavian '48 movement," and even found their failure natural. He supported that assertion by revealing the serious tactical mistakes of the revolutionaries, and at times even went as far as to advance strategic suppositions; in other words, he pointed out what the Moldavians failed to do to ensure success. He found a causal explanation for the attitude of the Moldavian revolutionaries in "their lack of faith in the people's forces," and in the fact that they misjudged the right moment for unleashing the insurrection.

The very first paragraph of the subchapter on the revolution in Wallachia in "A Century of Social Unrest" is an antithetical description of the way it was prepared, in contrast to the revolution in Moldavia. Thus, although the tactical aspects of the revolution were not sufficiently thought out, what we see here is an insurrection that, strategically speaking, had the benefit of appropriate leadership and consequently, its first finalization led to the conquest of the political power. The theme of the organization of the Wallachian revolution was researched in great detail in the studies published in *VIATA ROMANEASCA*, which emphasized the discipline and unity of the "Brotherhood" ranks and the legal and illegal means employed by the revolutionaries to work out and implement the insurrectional plan and to choose the moment of revolutionary crisis apt to advance and even dynamize the struggle. Analyzing the behavior of the various social classes and categories that

participated in the revolution—without thereby abandoning the elements of strategy—Patrascu claimed that the events in Wallachia verified the fact that it is easier to win power than to keep it, as long as people do not clearly realize the existence of two conflicting camps—the revolutionary and the counterrevolutionary camps. Also through the method of antithesis, Patrascu showed "what the provisional government did and failed to do." However, his research went much deeper in order to explain the events of the revolution and attempted to decipher the "spirit of the revolution."

The "spirit of the revolution" was also defined through the presentation of conflicting elements, i.e., of the groups and currents that participated in the action. Concerning this matter, it has been said that these groups were judged too rigidly; we, however, believe that a few more explicit remarks are necessary: a) first, Patrascu's intention was to show the contribution of the popular current to the unfolding of the revolution; b) the natural relationship between leaders and masses—the stress being, we repeat, on the second term—could be presented in the conditions that prevailed at the time only by glossing over the actions of the other currents; c) the situation concerning a) and b) is more prominent in the *VIATA ROMANEASCA* studies, but Patrascu corrected the picture in "A Century of Social Unrest" by devoting special attention to the factors of material and spiritual interest that marked the actions of the leaders.

Lucretiu Patrascu introduced a new element in the study of the '48 revolution, which until then had been avoided by historical research, namely the workers' participation in the events of 1848. Marx's analysis of the attitude of the French proletariat in the 1848 revolution ("Class Struggles in France, 1848-50") was his guide and model in dealing with the same theme in the Romanian principalities. Proceeding from documents of the time, Lucretiu Patrascu attempted to define the social strata to which belonged the "Ciocanasi," "Tabacii," and "Marginasii," and to clarify the meaning of the expression "the vagabonds and barefooted." Even according to Colonel Locusteanu's statement, all those played an important role in the revolution, while Patrascu viewed them as the "basic," "dynamic," and "combative element" of the action. Although in Bucharest the masses were rather heterogeneous, Lucretiu Patrascu described the characteristics of the workers class of the time as follows: it did not struggle for its own platform and did not assert an ideology of its own; neither the workers nor the revolution leaders viewed this category as a crystallized social class, but included it undifferentiatedly in the masses. In those conditions, the prized Marxist theoretician claimed, there could be no question of "class demands by the workers, nor of a conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, as had been the case in the other European revolutions until then." The fact that that situation occurred because of objective conditions was also proven by Lucretiu Patrascu through analogies to 1789 France and to other countries.

Keeping in mind the same specific historical conditions, Lucretiu Patrascănu also referred to the peasantry, calling it "the great revolutionary resource of all the democratic bourgeois movements in the rest of Europe at that time." His interest in the peasant social class was explained by its revolutionary potential, as well as by another issue of revolutionary strategy, namely that of joining the potential of the urban and rural masses. What is certain is that Patrascănu had a most sensitive concern for the thesis concerning the need to organize the masses—the workers and the peasants—which later became the strongest point of the theoretical argument.

Both in the above studies and in "Romania's Basic Issues" Lucretiu Patrascănu often suggested the idea of the "perpetual revolution" along the lines presented by Marx in the "Central Organ Address to the League of Communists" (March 1850) or by Antonio Gramsci in his writings about the French revolution. The Romanian

Marxist intellectual noted that the goals of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848 were not attained by the social class that initially established them, but were left "to the task of future generations." At that stage Lucretiu Patrascănu believed that the proletariat was the one to achieve the '48 program.

The concern with tactics and with the active aspects of the concept of "revolution" occupied an important place in materialist-historical thinking in Romania between the two world wars, although the theoretical aspect was not neglected either. Lucretiu Patrascănu's analysis of the 1848 revolution was devoted to this important topic and to demonstrating what he wrote in 1938: "Revolution is an art, and selecting and judging the best moment for launching the armed insurrection is the culmination of this art." The references to the complex situation prevailing by the fourth decade of the 20th century are obvious and particularly significant.

12782

ROMANIA

Medical Care for Ground Troops in Combat
27000086 Bucharest *REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA*
in Romanian No 4, Oct-Dec 87 pp 345-351

[Article by Med Col Dr Ion Dragusin and Med Col Dr Gheorghe Cosovei: "Medical Care for Large and Small Tank Units in Combat"; first four paragraphs are *REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA* introduction]

[Text] The problem of medical care for large and small tank units is extremely complex and difficult due to the great operational and strategic mobility that they have in performing maneuvers, due to their role and place in the combat disposition, and due to the specific character of the missions received in the course of the operations and fighting.

In the organization and performance of medical-care activity, the following are taken into account: the possibilities of utilization of the tank units, the specific character of the operations and their duration, the terrain features, and, in particular, the fact that these units constitute objectives of major importance for the enemy's attacks, both during combat and especially while stopped in the concentration or regrouping areas.

Being under the sole management of the chief surgeon of the large tank unit, the medical care is organized according to stages and includes the periods of concentration of the large unit, on the march and during combat operations (defense, participation in a counterattack or in an offensive).

Due to the specific character of the wounds in the tank troops, it would be advisable for one of the surgical sections of the frontline hospital to change its makeup, becoming a section for treating the victims of burns and of poisoning with carbon dioxide and other war gases.

Field Medicine

Medical Care According to Stages of Combat

The war to defend the homeland, waged by the whole populace, requires that the medical bodies on all echelons make a detailed and persevering study of the specific character and the possibilities of medical care for the troops.

Under the conditions of modern warfare, the large and small tank units constitute the main shock power of the ground troops. At the same time, due to the great operational and strategic mobility that they have in performing maneuvers and due to their high level of firepower, they constitute objectives of major importance for the enemy's attack, both when they participate in combat operations and while they are in concentration areas or on the march.

In the case of the existence of a period of tension that permits the operational disposition to be attained, the combat positions of the tank units will be organized through movements made right from the barracks or the concentration areas.

In the case when the enemy has made a surprise attack—a very complex situation for the tank troops—their movement to the ordered areas or strips will be organized in the shortest possible time, with provision for a "meeting engagement," it being borne in mind that some directions and alignments may be covered by fighting, a matter that also involves the medical sections in urgent and extremely energetic actions.

The activity of medical care for the large tank unit is complex and is done under difficult conditions, which result from the high volume of health casualties, it having some features caused by its role and place in the army's operational disposition or in the strategic reserve and by the missions that can be given to it, depending on the existing operational and strategic situation.

During the adoption of the order of march, the medical care for personnel is given with the forces and means of the units. As a rule, two-three basic roads, as marching routes, and a strip that includes these roads are allotted to the large unit, all being known to the chief surgeon.

Before the march starts, the large unit's chief surgeon organizes the health reconnaissance in the marching strip and checks on the quality of the drinking-water sources, the epidemiologic potential of the population, and the territorial possibilities regarding the treatment and hospitalization of the sick and wounded, the supplying of medicine, bandages, pharmaceutical products, antiepidemic materials, preserved blood, substitutes, oxygen, etc.

The frontline hospital of the large tank unit moves in a column, ahead of the second echelon, along the main route of travel, it being in a position to operate, in the shortest possible time, when the troops are attacked by the enemy.

The company for collecting and evacuating the wounded and the antiepidemic laboratory travel along one of the secondary routes, they being prepared to operate with forces and means in support of the units, as needed and on the order of the chief surgeon.

The evacuation of the sick and wounded is done with the specialized or unspecialized means of the subordinate units, to the hospitals along the routes of travel and to the temporary medical points indicated by the chief surgeon of the army in the medical instructions for the march.

In the case in which the large tank unit travels by a variety of means or only by rail, the medical care is organized with the medical and health personnel belonging to the units, with teams being assigned for each transportation echelon; the sick and wounded will be evacuated to the military and civilian hospitals along the routes, with the support of the medical formations at the railroad stations or with the help of the medical-surgical first-aid detachments of the patriotic guards and the civil defense formations.

When the large unit stops in order to restore the fighting ability or to provide the conditions for conducting future combat operations, the medical care for the troops includes health and antiepidemic measures meant to lead to the preservation of the health of the military personnel, to the restoration of their capacity for effort, and to the maintenance of their fighting ability at a high level. These measures refer to:

- The radiological, chemical, and biological analysis of the halting area and the routes used by the troops;
- The health reconnaissance;
- The execution of health, hygienic, and antiepidemic measures (water-source analysis, preventive vaccinations, etc.);
- The evacuation of the sick and wounded from the units to the nearest specialized hospitals on the territory;
- The replenishment of the stocks of medical and pharmaceutical supplies, preserved blood, substitutes, and oxygen;
- The organization and performance of the activity of health education and instruction with the military personnel, with an accent on the practical exercises of giving self-aid and mutual aid, of evacuating the wounded from damaged tanks, of giving first aid in case of burns, of resuscitating the victims of carbon dioxide poisoning, etc.

The medical formations of the large tank unit will be put on proper terrain, located toward the center of its halting area, well protected and concealed, having sources of drinking water.

The frontline hospital will not be set up in the field, as a rule, but will perform its activity only with the reception-triage-evacuation section, in order to prevent the clogging of the formation with the sick and wounded before the large unit goes into combat.

On the halting of the large tank unit (small tank units) in localities, the reception-triage-evacuation section within the line hospital and the medical points of the units will be put in suitable buildings, preferably in well protected basements, at intersections of principal streets, in order to be able to receive the wounded from all directions. The tents with which the medical formation is equipped can also be used to expand the working area, if need be.

Actions to remove the wounded and casualties from wreckage, to contain and extinguish fires, to unblock streets, etc. are organized in cooperation with the patriotic guards, the civil defense formations, and the other elements of the national defense system.

In wintertime, steps are taken to prevent frostbite, accidents and traumata, carbon dioxide poisoning, and other ailments caused by the cold and damp. In addition, in the frontline hospital and at the medical points of the units, steps will be taken to protect the sick and wounded of the enemy, in places not easily reached by motor vehicles for evacuation and supply, and to put near the disposition important elements sought by enemy scouting.

Within the frontline hospital, one of the surgical sections will sometimes be devoted to the treatment of victims of burns and carbon dioxide poisoning, a measure dictated by the specific character of the wounds and ailments in tank units:

The large unit's company for collecting and evacuating the wounded is put in the hospital's vicinity, near the evacuation and supply roads, in natural cover, with the taking of the most suitable steps for concealment and protection;

The antiepidemic laboratory, after the performance of the health reconnaissance in the defensive strip of the large unit, will be put in a suitable area, it being in a position to operate for the benefit of the troops, on the order of the chief surgeon;

The medical points of the units in the first echelon will be put in the field, usually in localities, in suitable buildings (the precincts of communal dispensaries or village schools), near the evacuation routes. The tents with which they are equipped can also be used, if need be. Since the tank subunits do not have medical points, in the zones with considerable cover, on torn-up ground, or in wintertime, the unit's medical point will be near the troops, in order to be able to get the wounded right from the subunits engaged in combat.

On the offensive, the main medical-care efforts are concentrated on preparing, in the shortest possible time, the medical formations of the large unit for this form of combat, including:

The evacuation of the sick and wounded from the medical points of the units, right to the field or territorial hospitals determined by the chief surgeon of the army;

The transition to the evacuation of the sick and wounded from the large unit's line hospital; if time does not permit the sick and wounded to be cleared from the large unit's line hospital, the medical care for the troops is given by army frontline hospitals, received by the large unit as reinforcements;

The filling of the shortage of medical and health personnel in the units that will operate in the first echelon of the division;

The filling of the shortage of means of evacuation, both in the units and at the frontline hospital of the large unit;

The providing of outfits with medical supplies, preserved blood, substitutes, and oxygen to the medical formations and units of the large unit, at least for the first day of combat.

For the start of the offensive combat, the medical formations of the large units (the frontline hospital, the company for collecting and evacuating the wounded, and the antiepidemic laboratory) will be put in the field, in the main directions of attack, concealed and protected, near the main evacuation and supply road assigned to it.

At the start of combat, the hospital will have the reception-triage-evacuation section and a surgical section set up. Later, depending on the speed of the offensive and on the number of sick and wounded, the hospital will develop its treatment and hospitalization capacity. The medical points of the units will be put in the field, so as to cope with the high speed of the offensive, and will perform their activity more on the move, during short stops, with an accent on evacuation, after giving medical aid and performing operations of vital necessity.

Medical and health personnel, means of evacuation, and stocks of medical and pharmaceutical supplies in sufficient quantities for 2-3 days of combat will be provided for the tank units or subunits that will operate independently in secondary directions or as advanced detachments.

Treatment Within the Medical Formations

In the tank units, the urgent removal from the machines of war and the giving of self-aid and mutual aid constitute actions of rapid application for saving the wounded, burned, or traumatized, until the arrival of the medical personnel.

The absence of medical personnel from the structure of the tank subunits creates big difficulties in giving medical aid at this level. The unit's chief surgeon is obliged to take all necessary steps to have near the place of wounding the medical and health personnel from the unit's medical point, so that medical aid can be given in the shortest possible time after removing from combat the tanks or the combatants who operate as riders on tanks.

The experience in recent armed conflicts has brought out the importance of having near the place of wounding the medical formations or teams of medical specialists equipped with apparatus and drugs to combat shock and urgently institute intensive therapy on the spot. The evacuation of the wounded with motor vehicles before giving skilled or specialized medical aid increases the

risk of the appearance of the unfavorable consequences and complications that result from this. Due to the specific character of the combat of the tank troops, the profile of the wounds is dominated by multiple traumata of the most serious kind, conditions of shock, and burns on various parts of the body, and by acute poisoning with carbon dioxide or gases appearing during firing or coming from smoke-producing substances used for concealment, a matter that requires suitable therapeutic attitudes.

The unit's medical point must have personnel who are suitable in number and training and great mobility, especially when there is the risk of its separation from the troops due to the especially rapid speed of the offensive. The existence of tents among the equipment of the medical formation, which require time for setup and takedown, constitutes an additional hindrance. It may be advisable for the medical points of the tank units to be equipped with wheeled, self-propelled, or towed operating and treatment rooms. One sees the security in organizing two-three mobile medical-surgical teams on armored personnel carriers or on bren-gun carriers, which would be able to operate right in the subunits, in order to give medical aid and perform evacuations from the place of wounding to the medical point of the unit.

The large tank unit's frontline hospital, with an organizational structure similar to that of the other line hospitals, gives skilled medical aid to all the sick and wounded. From the experience of the exercises performed, it may be advisable for one of the surgical sections of the hospital to specialize in the treatment of victims of burns and of poisoning with carbon dioxide and other noxious gases that are produced in the firing chamber in amounts above the allowed limits.

Evacuation of the Sick and Wounded

In the situation when a tank is taken out of action and its crew members are injured (with wounds, fractures, and/or combined lesions) or poisoned with gases, the medics of the infantry subunits, who accompany the tanks into battle, or other soldiers will act to remove the wounded from the tank and to give first aid. The webbing for removing the wounded from tanks and trenches will be used for this purpose. However, it is necessary for the medics or rescuers to have wrenches for opening the shutters of the tanks. It is useful for the subunit commander and all able-bodied military personnel in the crews to cooperate in this operation.

Points for collecting the wounded, from which they are evacuated, after receiving medical first aid, to the medical point of the unit, are organized in the subunits. Thanks to the chief surgeon, the sick and wounded are evacuated to the frontline hospital of the large tank unit, with its means.

After receiving skilled medical aid, the sick and wounded are evacuated from the line hospital of the large unit to the field hospitals belonging to the hospitalization bases in the army's strip, with the means made available by the army. In the case when the large tank unit receives operational and strategic missions, the sick and wounded will be evacuated right to the nearest territorial hospitals.

As a rule, the evacuation of the sick and wounded is done by the upper medical echelon, according to the "la SiNE" [established medical?] procedure, there being observed the principle of evacuation according to destination.

Since the large tank unit changes its area of operation in a hurry, according to strategic needs or after fulfilling the various missions assigned, the chief surgeon must take all necessary steps to perform the evacuations in as short a time as possible and to replenish the stocks of medical and pharmaceutical supplies, preserved blood, substitutes, and oxygen.

The victims of head wounds and shock and those with multiple traumata are evacuated by air from the front-line hospital of the large unit after the performance of operations of vital necessity, with intensive therapeutic aid being given, if need be, during transportation.

The antiepidemic care in the operating strip of the large unit is given with the forces and means of the antiepidemic laboratory. Antiepidemic formations in the territorial network or formations from the health and antiepidemic centers of the upper echelon can also cooperate in special epidemiological situations.

The provision of pharmaceutical medical supplies is done, as a rule, from the medical supply depot of the army or from the territorial sources indicated by the chief surgeon of the upper echelon, in the instructions for medical care. The provision of preserved blood and substitutes is done from the county or municipal centers for blood collection and preservation, and of oxygen, from the factories on the territory, also indicated by the chief surgeon of the upper echelon, or from the pharmaceutical medical supply depots on the hospitalization bases.

The exercises performed have brought out the fact that medical care for the large tank unit also has some organizational features with regard to giving treatment to the sick and wounded determined by the specific character of the combat operations and by the seriousness and type of the lesions that can occur in crews in combat.

The absence of the medical point from the structure of the tank subunit poses special problems in giving medical aid at the respective echelon and in removing and collecting the wounded and evacuating them from the subunit.

The rapid speed of the offensive causes the medical aid to be given "on the fly" at the medical point of the unit; the equipping of this medical formation with tents for holding treatment rooms becomes useless, with their setup and takedown being slow, under the conditions of very few service personnel and the short time available.

With the seriousness and type of the wounds in the large tank unit being different from those in the large mechanized units, this obliges the chief surgeon to take timely and suitable steps to organize and provide pharmaceutical medical supplies to the subordinate line hospital.

In view of the need to give medical aid as rapidly as possible, it is necessary for all military personnel in the crews of the tanks to have the required training in order to be able to give first aid to the wounded, using for this purpose the first aid kits existing on the tank.

In addition, it is evident that the front-line hospital of the large tank unit must change the makeup of a surgical section to a section for treating the victims of burns and of poisoning with carbon dioxide or other gases, there being provided at the same time a suitable number of specialists in intensive therapy and resuscitation.

(Article received at the editorial office on 31 October 1987.)

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Final 1987 Federal Budget Review Cause for Alarm 24000117a Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Jun 88 p 1

[Unattributed editorial: "Final Report on Budgetary Outlays Stirring"]

[Text] A week ago the Federal Assembly discussed and approved the final report on budgetary expenditures for the federation for 1987. It would be extremely simple to find that this final report continues in the tradition of its predecessors—by showing balance between revenues and expenditures. Financial settlements for the last year can certainly be judged separately—the account of the federation, the accounts of the republics, and included in the latter, the accounts of the national committees. But, logically, they form a whole and in comparing the accounts with the budget one cannot say that the cumulative total of planned revenues was achieved and, thus, it was also not possible to realize the expenditures at their originally planned levels.

This, then, is the reverse side of the seeming balance and continuation of the tradition which already began to show evidence of unsteadiness a year earlier, but, at that time, reserves that had been previously set aside were used to balance our state account books. This time, some expenditures had to be reduced, particularly those destined for investments. In view of the fact that not all investment intentions are thoroughly prepared in terms of timeliness and all other aspects, it was seemingly not difficult to defer them. But this can be done once or twice and then the deferred investments sometimes begin to be felt, in other words, it is not a method which is correct or one which can be used more frequently.

The way toward rectification must be sought elsewhere, primarily in the causes behind the failure of payments made to the state budget to reach the requisite levels. First, because our enterprises operate with little efficiency. This is not altered by the fact that many of them achieved high profits, thanks to wholesale prices, which included their operating expenses. (But as far as exports are concerned, foreign customers are not at all interested in our production costs, but rather in our sales prices and it is clear that it is impossible to set the price without comparing the offerings of the competition.)

The overwhelming majority of our enterprises produces at high costs, particularly at high material costs. But, as it seems, this does not bother them in any way; they do not take the requirement to reduce costs in a planned manner into account. And, yet, there is something from which savings can be accomplished. Can it be assumed that the system of self-financing will compel them to do so? Can it be assumed that the method by which enterprise management operates will come under the control of working collectives who cannot remain indifferent to

the question as to whether they are earning their wages? However, even if such a turnaround would occur with the introduction of the new economic mechanism, is it not a pity to waste the remaining years by sticking to old methods, by closing one's eyes to the introduction of more economic technological processes?

Second, because of the fact that scientific-technical development has thus far not become the axis of planning, the only correct way toward increasing the technical level of production and of products, their quality, and, thus, their more efficient utility, both in the domestic market and in foreign trade. But, let us be modest—how much better would internal and external requirements be met if the innovation cycle would at least function well? Except that the majority of that which has been billed as innovation in recent years is, essentially, only nonspecific change (with the exception of the sales price). Are the enterprises perhaps holding back on their ideas against the time when they will have to stand on their own feet? Hardly, because not even the competition is asleep and many a present innovation which is tucked away in a drawer will only represent a remembrance of the past in a year or two.

Third, because excessive supplies are eating away a substantial portion of the available resources. In their cumulative numbers, their value significantly exceeds the annual national income. Supplies tie up giant amounts of resources and, furthermore, additional resources must be expended to maintain them in the usable state, to warehouse them, to preserve them, etc. In part, supplies also represent finished products in which no one is interested. Naturally, the question arises why they were produced, but what is more important is the reminder that the enterprises included their production in calculations of their plan fulfillment, consumed materials and energy in producing them, and paid wages for them—which were, in part, not covered by goods because they remain in the warehouse.

The settlement of final accounts shows that the state expended much effort to manage well, but as long as enterprises do not also begin to manage well matters will continue to be more difficult and uneven. It is certainly gratifying that last year more was expended on public health, culture, education, etc., than was the case the year before, but it has already been said at whose expense this had to be done? Gradually, important social measures are being realized and appropriate resources also have to be allocated for them because it is no longer possible to back away from principles which were once adopted. So that nothing else remains other than to intensify the creation of resources, primarily in material production.

The budget does not cover its requirements solely from the payments of enterprises, but also from the proceeds of the turnover tax, including the differences recorded in the domestic market. The plan was not fulfilled even in the above-listed area; in place of a growth of 5 billion in

comparison with the previous year, there was in fact a decline by 1 billion so that the difference with regard to the plan amounted to Kcs 6 billion.

This decline was shared in by deliveries to the domestic market having a low representation rate of luxury or high-quality goods, as well as higher deliveries of fuels which have a negative turnover tax—the state actually subsidizes their prices. And the change in the structure of imports for the domestic market, reflecting a greater share of current products also contributed. The second and third reasons are, in general, understandable, their causes explainable, but the first and principal reason—the inadequate level of deliveries of goods from domestic production—cannot be passed over in silence.

In conjunction with the budget and the final report on budgetary expenditures, the citizenry is interested in the level of expenditures for administration and whether or not it might be possible to effect some savings in this regard. It is undoubtedly possible even though in the past year these expenditures did not attain the anticipated level (not by about Kcs 30 million), but, in the overall volume of expenditures they are such a small fraction that even more substantial savings would essentially not solve anything.

The way toward actually balancing revenues and expenditures in the state budget leads solely via substantial improvements in the management of organizations which are managed both by the federal government as well as by the governments of both republics. Of a total of not quite 2,000 such organizations, only 22.7 percent recorded a higher-than-average level, two-fifths recorded an average level, 17.5 percent showed a lower-than-average level, and in the remaining organizations their level of efficiency was not evaluated by making comparisons. Compared to the previous year, the number of organizations showing an above-average level declined by 1.4 percent; in contrast, the number of average-level enterprises grew by 3.4 percent.

What conclusions flow from the discussion of the final report on budgetary expenditures? The results of last year cannot be considered satisfactory. In the majority of the branches of the national economy, while the creation of material resources was higher than that stipulated by the plan, production consumption was exceeded at the same time and lower efficiency of the reproduction process than that called for by the plan led to failure to fulfill the desired level of the national income. A negative influence on the creation of the national income, combined with the failure to maintain planned savings in production consumption, represent roughly Kcs 9 billion.

The fundamental intent of economic and social policy continues to be thwarted—to accelerate development through intensification, through the growth of efficiency on the basis of higher utilization of scientific-technical progress. In economic development, extensive directions

survive. The present system of management is not responsive to the current level of development of production forces, something which is manifested in the inadequate level of fulfillment pertaining to qualitative indicators, in the unevenness of production, and in a number of deviations from planned intentions which exert an unfavorable influence upon the financial management of the enterprise sphere and as a result cause a permanent tension in budgetary management.

Although changes in management are being worked on and the first steps have already been achieved, it would be irresponsible to wait for changes in the approach toward lowering material and fuel/energy costs, in the broader utilization of scientific-technical development, in the acceleration and deepening of the innovative cycle, in the raising of the technical level and quality of products until the Ninth Five-Year Plan. We cannot waste the intervening time; we cannot live in a vacuum.

05911

First Step to Currency Convertibility Within CEMA Taken

24000117c Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
23 Jun 88 p 6

[Article by Mikhail Lyubskiy, Institute of Economics of the World Socialist Order, Academy of Sciences, USSR: "A Corridor for Direct Contacts—The Agreement Between Czechoslovakia and the USSR Is the First Step Toward Currency Convertibility Within CEMA"]

[Text] Unsolved currency problems are one of the causes for the slow pace of development of direct production and coproduction relationships between enterprises in the CEMA countries. Recently, however, an intergovernmental agreement between the USSR and the CSSR on utilizing national currencies in settling accounts in the area of direct contacts was signed in Moscow.

Other CEMA countries are showing interest in this experience. By the end of this year, Bulgaria is planning to conclude a similar agreement with its partners in CEMA.

Currently, socialist economic integration has entered a fundamentally new phase. Its principal characteristic lies in the absolute change of the role of basic economic links. Enterprises and associations are changing into independent producers of goods in this sense that they can now engage in direct contacts with partners on the basis of agreed-upon prices.

The Path to a Unified Market

The development of direct production and scientific-technical relationships between enterprises and organizations on a commercial basis, the establishment of joint enterprises under conditions of broad utilization of market-price relationships, this is the way toward the

establishment of a unified market in the CEMA countries and its utilization as a means for raising the efficiency of the individual national economies in CEMA. This is precisely what the changes in the economic mechanism are concentrating upon, as is cooperation as a whole, including its monetary and financial "block," as stipulated by the 43d Session of the CEMA Council in October of last year.

In a conversation with the newspaper PRAVDA, A.K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and permanent representative of the Soviet Union to CEMA, stated that the experimental utilization of national currencies in the relationship of CEMA member countries for the settlement of accounts for goods and services within the framework of direct relations and the activities of joint enterprises, including the realization of the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Development of CEMA Member Countries by the Year 2000, will become a new direction in perfecting monetary and financial relationships. The existing financial mechanism functioned only at the interstate level for economic relations. The system of accounting within CEMA in convertible rubles essentially represents a multilateral clearing, that is to say, the settlement of mutual payment requirements and obligations in trade and in other forms of interstate relations. In practice, this system is close to the barter exchange of goods on a strictly balanced basis where the convertible ruble (the currency of the clearing) serves only to determine the value of goods in contractual prices and is utilized only "ideally," since all accounting is accomplished without any money changing hands.

Another Mechanism for Accounting

The situation undergoes a fundamental change if direct economic and commercial relationships begin to function between partners. The change in participants involved in mutual relationships requires another mechanism for mutual accounting which is already based upon the utilization of national currencies of the countries of the association. To support the interests of cost accounting (khozraschet), contractual prices, foreign exchange rates, real money are essential. Particularly national currencies, which are a reflection of national economic conditions, are intended to exert the most efficient influence upon direct contacts and activities engaged in by joint enterprises.

Primary significance in this case is ascribed to reliable provision of merchandise to back up the national currencies of CEMA countries which is, as is well-known, guaranteed by planning the state money turnover and its uniformity. Of course, quality and assortment of production are not always in harmony with the requirements of foreign customers and consumers. This problem will be solved by way of expanding the multilateral aspects of mutual trade and with the aid of the mechanism of the mutual convertibility of national currencies.

The agreement between the USSR and the CSSR anticipates the possibility that payments and deliveries will not be balanced. This creates essential conditions for the elastic and efficient utilization of resources and for the development of the multilateral nature of payments (naturally, including the national currencies of other CEMA countries).

Currently, work continues in the CEMA countries on a system of measures to perfect the conditions and practical aspects of utilizing national currencies. Principles for determining mutually economically justified rates are being formulated. The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia thus set a rate of 1 ruble to Kcs 10.40 for mutual payments for deliveries within the framework of direct contacts.

For a Free Stay of Money and Goods

In actual fact, mutual convertibility is not merely an exchange of one currency for another, but a special principle and method of organizing the management of the economy which presupposes the relatively free movement of goods and money within the countries and between them (that is to say, the functioning of the domestic and foreign market). The broad utilization of national currencies among CEMA countries as a means of international accounting on the basis of their convertibility presupposes fundamental changes in the organization of national currency systems and in the international mechanism of payments. It means opening the national economies and markets to the influences of external factors. This requires a corresponding level of development in production forces and production relationships, approximately at the same level in all CEMA member states which will participate in the new system of mutual accounting.

In addition to the production of high-quality merchandise, an essential prerequisite for convertibility is the gradual formation of a domestic market which includes not only consumer goods but also capital goods (in the form of wholesale trade involving these goods). Furthermore, a certain balance in the demand and supplies offered of many important types of merchandise and services is required in the domestic markets of CEMA countries and with respect to their international markets.

All of these conditions are being formed in the countries of the socialist community according to the measure of the development of their economies by way of universal intensification and by way of implementation of economic reforms. The first significant step in the sphere of monetary relationships has already been taken by the Soviet Union and by Czechoslovakia.

**Initial Stage of Transition to National Enterprises
Viewed**

24000117b Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
25 Jun 88 p 2

[Article by Zdenek Hoffmann: "State Enterprises—The First Stage"]

[Text] This week, the government of Czechoslovakia approved the first stage of the reconstruction involving the organizational structure of the enterprise base. After 1 July 1988—in accordance to the law—some 412 state enterprises will be established under the jurisdiction of federal and national ministries.

According to the ministerial breakdown, approval was granted for the establishment of 88 state enterprises under the jurisdiction of the Federal Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering, and Electrotechnology; seven under the jurisdiction of the Federal Ministry of Fuels and Energy; 43 under the jurisdiction of national ministries of industry; 37 to be established under the jurisdiction of the national ministries of construction and development; 14 under the national ministries of trade and tourism; 192 under the national ministries of agriculture and nutrition; two under the national ministries of interior and the environment; and one state enterprise was approved for establishment under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Physical Fitness of the SSR. Additionally, approval was granted for the establishment of 21 state enterprises under the jurisdiction of the national committees and 7 state enterprises under the jurisdiction of the Czech and Slovak geological offices.

During the first stage, the transition to state enterprise involves roughly one-third of the existing national enterprises, concerns, and specialized enterprises which will become independent or will be amalgamated with other organizations and will form new organizational units with these organizations. Currently, these enterprises employ more than 2.5 million individuals. However, there are a number of other enterprises which are involved in the comprehensive experiment to increase independence and responsibility for efficient development and which have, for the time being, not been changed into state enterprises. What is involved here is a relatively significant number of organizations and worker collectives which will be operating according to the new economic mechanism at least in part during the 2d half of this year.

However, we are only at the beginning of the demanding process of restructuring society and its decisive component—economic reforms. For the present, only organizations where there was agreement with respect to proposals from the enterprise sphere as well as agreement from the standpoint of the ministry as the future founder have been changed to state enterprises. In places where there was no agreement of proposals, the decision regarding the establishment of state enterprises was

deferred and a thorough analysis of all variants and proposals will be conducted. The procedure was similar with respect to judging proposals which were inadequately worked out and did not take fundamental requirements of restructuring into account and which showed evidence of some individual, specialty, or other interests which did not correspond to the goals of further economic and social development.

Simply said, there also exist controversial questions and solutions, and unification of positions held by both deciding participants—the worker collectives and the central organs—are not always easy. The proposal made by worker collectives was not always justified and was, therefore, rejected for one or another reason. It is possible that some will have difficulty dealing with such rejections. It is frequently easier to develop and nourish illusions than it is to dispel them. And the representatives of ministries will have to be ready to deal openly and honestly with some worker collectives.

Wherever differing opinions crop up and state organs adopt different positions (this involves primarily individual and collective proposals), managers at the ministerial level must reconsider these proposals or possibly defer their solution to a subsequent stage. In every case—let us repeat—this must be thoroughly justified to those making the proposal.

Not much time remains to prepare the transition of other organizations to become state enterprises and the entire process of restructuring the organizational structure must be completed by 1 July 1989, which means within a year.

05911

POLAND

**Highlights of Enterprise to Company
Restructuring Order**

26000440a Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish
No 21, 22 May 88 p 8

[Text] A Council of Ministers order dated 8 February 1988 modifying the order governing the implementation of the state enterprise law was published in the current legislation gazette No 6, under item 51.

The order supplements the 30 November 1981 Council of Ministers law governing the carrying out of the law on state enterprises (current legislation gazette No 31, item 170, and No 37, item 213 from 1987) with a new division regulating the elimination of a state enterprise with the intent of establishing a company in its place.

In accordance with the order, the elimination of an enterprise with the purpose of establishing a company is based on restructuring its organizational and legal form without terminating its economic activity.

A joint conclusion of the workers' council and the enterprise director concerning restructuring and addressed to the founding organ should include the following:

- economic justification for the projected restructuring;
- denoting the subject which will be taking over the debts and responsibilities of the enterprise, including obligations resulting from working conditions.

The company agreement and the statute on a joint stock company are also to be included in the proposal.

In the case of agreement on restructuring, the founding organ will define the conditions for restructuring.

The procedure for restructuring is to be accomplished by the enterprise director who informs the appropriate treasury department and also the bank financing the enterprise's activity concerning the implementation of the procedure.

The proposal governing removal of the enterprise from the register of enterprises is submitted to the court on the day that the company is registered.

This order went into effect on 29 February 1988.

12229/08309

Industries Waiving Market Production; Import Supplies Cause Concern
26000440b Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish
No 23, 5 Jun 88 p 15

[Text] Since December 1987, there has been a visible and gradual reconstruction of the level of production activity which industry lost during the first and second half of last year. This trend is supported by a growth in the balance of production (the difference between the percentage of industrial potential which gives information on the growth and fall in production). This balance is rising gradually, from 5 percent in November 1987 to 9 percent in April 1988. The general shape of industry can be recognized as satisfactory, with a tendency to maintain this level. This rather optimistic evaluation is also strengthened by the observation of the influx of new orders. Since the beginning of 1988, there has been a distinct increase in the balance of orders placed. It rose from 16 percent in January 1987 to 23 percent in January 1988, and was 20 percent in April 1988 as compared with 11 percent in April 1987.

The worsening of import supplies obvious since January 1988, is a worrisome phenomenon which can exert a negative influence on the overall level of production activity. It has been worse during the entire first quarter of this year than in the fourth quarter of 1987, and it deteriorated further in April. This observation concerns both payments sectors, including the fact that a decline

in supplies from the first payments sector [non-convertible currency countries] appears to be higher. Following the first quarter, 55 percent of the importers for the first payments sector and 31 percent for the second payments sector [hard currency countries] consider the supply deliveries as being adequate. In the case of the first payments sector this represents the worst situation in the last three quarters, and in the case of the second payments sector this is worse only because of the results of the fourth quarter of 1987. When compared with good results in sales abroad this creates some discord. In 1987 during this same period, the opposite trend was true, that is import supply deliveries improved systematically. This, however, was typical for all of last year.

Cooperative links are improving slightly following a certain decline during the first part of this year. Approximately 33 percent of the industrial potential reports that results are worse than normal, 4 percent note that they are better than normal, and 63 percent indicate that the status of cooperative relations is normal. For example, in January and February, 37 percent of the industrial potential evaluated the cooperative links as being worse than normal. In April, a reversal of the first quarter trend for improvement in the level of supplies was noted. If this fact is compared with the falling imports of supplies and an improvement in cooperative links, then the hypothesis can be made that the reason for this is the small supply of import goods. The decline in supplies is obviously related to the fall in the import of supplies in large enterprises employing over 4,000 workers. Another serious long-term problem concerns the level of production of consumer goods. Test results indicate that the percentage of industrial potential abandoning market production is rising. This trend has been obvious for several dozen months and we can continue to predict that it will remain at this level. For example, the predicted balance concerning the size of market production (the difference between the percentage of industrial potential anticipating growth and the fall in market production) totaled minus 1 percent in April. This balance is maintained with minimal deviations since June 1987. Another example, 25 percent of the industrial potential did not manufacture for the market in April 1987, in April 1988 this figure was 27 percent. The trend toward giving up market production is slow but determined. Of course, we do not need to explain what consequences this has for market equilibrium and the rate of inflation. This can also signify that we are entering in accordance with the theory of a cyclical development of the socialist economy, into that phase of the cycle in which production for production's sake is growing more rapidly than production for consumption purposes. Tests confirm the increase in the level of shortages. This is manifested through an increase in the frequency of changes in the organization and structure of production caused by various types of shortages. The balance of the latter (the difference between the percentage of industrial potential signaling the growth and decline of the frequency in organizational and structural changes in production caused by shortages of goods and

labor) increased to 27 percent in April as compared with 25 percent in October 1987 and January 1988. The obstacles hampering the demand for market goods also underwent a decline. Currently, they are at a 2.2 percent level for market production and this is the lowest level in the past dozen or so months. On the other hand, the obstacle governing non-market goods has risen slightly. It totals 3.5 percent as compared to 2 percent in January 1988.

There is an obvious lack of a trend to lower individual production costs and to increase savings. Approximately 83 percent of the industrial potential predicts that in the next 3 to 4 months in comparison with the past 3 to 4 months production costs will rise, and 4 percent believe that they will decline.

In conclusion, it is possible to predict a sufficiency good level of industrial activity, and a pretty good prognosis for the near future (3 to 4 months). Uncertainty for the short term is caused by the level of import supplies, and for the long-term it is the withdrawal of industry from market production.

12229/08309

Proexport Policy, Draft Law on Foreign Investments Discussed

26000479b Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish
7 Jun 88 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Wladyslaw Gwiazda, Minister, Foreign Economic Relations, by Tomasz Bartoszewicz]

[Excerpts]

[Question] Mr Minister, it appears from the monthly Main Office of Statistics (GUS) reports that foreign-trade tasks are being executed successfully.

[Answer] Indeed, we are exceeding the planned tasks, and greatly, at that. This applies especially to export, whose volume to socialist countries during 4 months of this year rose 14 percent in comparison with the same period last year, and exports to the free-foreign exchange markets rose over 16 percent. Maintaining this growth, pro-export tendency is of vital importance to the improvement of the flow of producer goods in the national economy, particularly those needed for production and the market, and also for the normalization of relations with our creditors.

[Question] I understand that the ministry will attempt to receive extraordinary powers and authority to strengthen these pro-export trends in the development of our economy.

[Answer] First, it is not the ministry but the Council of Ministers which received extraordinary powers. Second, it may, and not must, make use of these powers. Finally, the government makes use of its extraordinary powers in

those fields where implementation of the tasks of the second stage of reform is not going well. In the area of foreign trade and cooperation, we are executing reform measures energetically and ahead of schedule. Results obtained in foreign trade attest to their effectiveness. That is why I am anxious that the present tempo and approved courses in the reformation of economic foreign relations, which would give Poland greater access to the world, be maintained.

[Question] The Council of Ministers recently approved a draft law which changes the present rules for the functioning of companies which have foreign capital. What do these changes consist of?

[Answer] Let us begin with the fact that in connection with the basic change in the text of the law, even a change in its name is being proposed. According to the draft, it will deal with economic activities with foreign-capital participation. It will be possible, therefore, for companies which have only foreign capital to conduct economic activity in Poland.

[Question] In this way the demand of "Polonia" Society has been taken into consideration.

[Answer] Yes. The draft law provides that foreign small-scale manufacturing enterprises will also obtain a considerable improvement in their operating conditions. We must remember that they were established in different forms and for other purposes. When they were being established the primary concern was production for the market, while the new law retains its clearly pro-export character. But in the law conditions have been created for the transformation of the present foreign small-scale manufacturing enterprises into companies which can then fall under the new law.

[Question] That is, those who want to take on a pro-export orientation can transform themselves into companies.

[Answer] According to the draft law, those who want to continue market production can continue to do so on better conditions than in the past.

[Question] What do the provisions of the draft law consist of and how much more attractive are they than the rules contained in the present law on foreign-capital companies?

[Answer] I will name only a few changes. For example, we will no longer require that the Polish side have the majority interest and even—as I have already mentioned—allow 100-percent foreign ownership. The managing director of the company will no longer have to be a Polish citizen. The income tax will be reduced as well as the compulsory amount of foreign-exchange resales.

[Question] When will the draft be sent to the Sejm?

[Answer] We have decided to speed up the work, in relation to the timetable for the implementation of the second stage of reform, so as to have the draft reach the Sejm at the beginning of June and not at the end of that month. This will enable completion of the work on the law before the vacation recess in the Sejm.

[Question] One more matter. Are you not afraid that the export of certain goods, covered by Council of Ministers order dated 13 May 1988, will collapse?

[Answer] I do not believe that such an immediate collapse will occur, although tying tax reductions to implementation of deliveries to the market may cause a temporary halt of export in some enterprises. But please remember that the order does not affect deliveries for which contracts have already been signed, or to cases where the minister of the domestic market determines that goods are in sufficient supply on the market. Nor does it apply to machines and equipment and other nonmarket goods. The present market difficulties justify that Council of Ministers' decision. But we must remember that to manufacture many market goods, particularly durable consumer items such as washing machines, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, and television sets, import is indispensable. Enterprises will earn money for this import by selling part of their production on foreign markets. Without a defined level of import it would be impossible to maintain continuity of deliveries to the domestic market. Otherwise, we would bring about shortages in imported supplies, which as a consequence would cause a drop in production and thus a further deterioration in the availability of market goods. And the reverse—more export means more imported raw materials and supplies, for market production also.

9295

Solution Sought To View Information Systems as Trade Product

26000479a Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish
11-12 Jun 88 p 7

[Interview with Prof Aleksander W. Butrymienko, director, International Center of Scientific and Technical Information in Moscow, organized under the auspices of CEMA, by Małgorzata Miecznikowska]

[Text]

[Question] Economic, bank and scientific information, forecasts, reports and analyses are being sold. The range and form of this information is dictated by the client who wants it. Where is this commodity sold? In the highly developed countries, of course, but not just there. Our neighbors have also gone into the information business. Computerized data banks, dialogue terminals, the essential equipment which makes it possible to quickly reproduce and send the ordered materials to the client. For us this continues to be something from a science-fiction film.

Again we are behind. Why?

[Answer] Because we do not treat information as a commodity which can be sold at a profit. We treat information as a free property which we should exchange among ourselves on the basis of mutual courtesy. In a certain sense this is right, but if we perceive information more broadly, e.g., in the form of economic data and forecasts of economic conditions, then it is a very expensive commodity.

My visit in Poland, too, is not strictly of a courtesy nature. We are reaching an agreement with the management of the Scientific-Technical Information Center in Warsaw as to services we can offer each other, but on a business basis.

The firm which I direct operates on the basis of economic cost-effectiveness. We have brought about a situation in which 60 percent of our budget comes from fees from the information services we offer. Our goal is to become 75-percent self-financing.

The beginnings have already been made. For example, we are signing a contract in Poland under which we are selling each other information for approximately 100,000 rubles. This is the amount which both sides will earn in this exchange.

[Question] Mr Professor, we are talking here about the large amounts of money which can be earned in selling information, yet we have problems even with nonpaid circulation of data. Frequently studies are duplicated and the same publications are purchased for enormous sums because the northern part of the country does not know what the southern part is doing. Before we begin to trade we must, of course, know what we have. We have trouble with this even within one country.

Furthermore, you spoke of Poland's active participation in the Center. I understand that a guest deserves a certain courtesy, but I have before me a report from the Office of Scientific-Technical Progress and Applications which shows that Poland can be linked with the Center in Moscow by only a single microcomputer installed at the Polish Academy of Sciences. Under these circumstances, isn't talk about more activeness a leap into the future? [Answer] You say that the nonpaid exchange of information does not work either. That is true, but precisely because it is nonpaid. If I am an employee paid out of the state treasury it does not matter to me whether information reaches a client, or whether he is satisfied with it. I am not dependent upon the market.

You asked for my opinion on Polish solutions. I was in one of your centers in Wrocław. It seems that compilation of a data base cost \$600,000. But so what, when there is no dialogue terminal there and there is no computerized information on what is available and where. There is no reproduction equipment. There is a data base, but it is difficult to make rational use of it.

This is characteristic of all CEMA countries. And why? Because those who are responsible for it are more concerned with whether there is something there at all than whether practical use can be made of it.

[Question] That's not all. Independently of each other, countries compile very expensive data bases and duplicate the import of Western publications. Even in wealthy, highly developed countries, for purely economic reasons, there is a certain specialization. Can we really afford all of this? Is no thought being given to some kind of division of competence?

[Answer] This is absolutely true. That is why a committee of country representatives instructed the Center to prepare a program under which each of the member-states would specialize in a specific field.

[Question] There is also the question of the quality of this information.

[Answer] That is a matter of economic mechanisms. As long as we do not view information as a commodity, a commodity which must be paid for, it will be done shoddily. Free information will never be of the highest quality.

[Question] And what about information on information? If we want market mechanisms to function there must be advertising, marketing, and employee wages must be fixed differently.

[Answer] We are publishing a catalogue. Your country will receive 2,000 copies. It will contain information as to where, in which country, there are data bases. But again, we return to the starting point: employees paid out of the state budget do not care about whether the information reaches the client and are not interested in whether there is a buyer for it. Their wages are not dependent upon whether the information that they have assembled is being used. We are not yet fully clear on how the road between the center and the user should best go—whether the catalog should look exactly as how it is today.

[Question] Under the present legal system is it possible to create the economic incentives which you believe to be a kind of panaceum?

[Answer] Yes. That is how the Hungarians are operating today. In the USSR, too, the entire information system will be based on economic cost-effectiveness principles. Already the Center is earning about 2 million rubles a year on information trading. We are conducting three types of activities: publishing, access to a data base via a dialogue terminal, and sales of user-program packages. In the total amount of profits, 300,000 rubles represents the value of services rendered to the foreign partner.

[Question] What do you, as the director of the international center of which Poland is a member, expect from our Center for Scientific-Technical Information (CINTE)?

[Answer] My firm is completing the work on a package of user programs for which CINTE will obtain distribution rights. We expect that Poland will make trade offers in the form of compiled data bases. Already on 22 June we want to sign such an agreement.

[Question] But one or two agreements will not solve the systems-type problems. Would it not be well to attempt to develop a target view of the circulation of information within the framework of CEMA?

[Answer] You know, madam, that we already have the structures on paper. It is worse with effectiveness. Let us, for now, be satisfied with adding to the examples of concrete solutions, understandings and transactions. We can imagine a large, comprehensive program, describe it in a complex way, give it an international dimension and wind up with an absurdity. Because, in the last analysis, who will apply it?

9295

Bank Spokesman on Lenin Shipyard Financial Difficulties

26000477 Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish
No 27, 2 Jul 88 p 5

[Article by Ryszard Kowalski, press spokesman for the National Bank of Poland: "The Giants Are Not Joking"]

[Text] In *POLITYKA* No 22, Czeslaw Tolwinski, director of the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk, makes the chances for restoring the economic health of the shipyard dependent on a change in the bank's attitude toward his enterprise. Among other things, he says: "We cannot agree with the bank's argument that we do not possess consistent creditworthiness and that our current creditworthiness is in danger." I think that when we are striving to make money the regular of economic processes, we cannot leave Director Tolwinski's opinions and views without comment.

But first a reservation. I will not analyze the economic situation on the basis of data the bank has, for it is an ancient and good banking principle to observe the privacy of a client's bank account. In any case, I think that exclusively on the basis of information that has appeared in *POLITYKA* and other mass media I can show that the bank's policy with regard to the shipyard, which was so criticized by the director, is completely justified.

Parenthetically, in a market economy, the manager of a firm will do everything to prevent a bank's negative opinion of his enterprise from reaching the public and his partners. In Poland, we make such a bank opinion an

object of public complaint and expect the bank will explain itself not the one who is managing poorly. But let us treat this as a passing charm of the implementation of the reform.

For those readers of *POLITYKA* less familiar with banking, I wish to explain that the phrase "consistent creditworthiness" means that the bank has full confidence in the client, in his current and future situation, that the bank thinks highly of his management. "Current creditworthiness," briefly stated, the ability to obtain credit, but on more stringent conditions, for the credit is more expensive and there is constant supervision by the bank, for the future prospects or the current management of the enterprise are not the best.

A basic canon of the banking art is securing the funds (deposits) entrusted to the bank, or loaning them only to those who guarantee their return. I cannot not refer to the "thundering" journalism after the two recent criminal events. With what emotion and conviction, they wrote about the need to properly secure the money in banks. Without negating the correctness of these comments, I wrote after these events that for the bank every zloty is important. We have the right to expect that the operations of the bank aim to locate money only in "certain ventures," or guaranteeing the funds entrusted to the bank by clients will enjoy equally strong acceptance by society. And that the question why the bank loans money when there is great risk is justified.

Returning to the shipyard, we know (Director Czeslaw Tolwinski mentioned this) that the minister of industry has named a working group that is to determine the future fate of the shipyard. Here it remains for me only to pose a rhetorical question: if the possibility of liquidating the shipyard is being considered, is it a client with which one can enter into a venture, especially a long-term one?

But it is not a question either of rhetoric or, I hope, of demagoguery. The shipyard's economic situation has been difficult for some time. One should not be surprised, for there are many shortcomings in the effectiveness of the management, as its director says: "We want to lease out a portion of the unused area of the shipyard and the unused buildings and equipment to partnerships and cooperatives." This means that so far the cost of every ship from the Gdansk shipyard has been increased by the sum used to maintain the unused fixed assets over the years. In this situation, the fact that in 1987 (I refer to the List of "500" from *ZARZADZANIE*) the shipyard showed a profit only thanks to the subsidies from the equalization account is not surprising. The director speaks of the poor structure of employment and difficulties in changing it, for it "threatens additional difficulties." I understand and even sympathize, but the bank deals in money and executing economic efficiency from borrowers. The head of the shipyard says: "the accord system will be dropped and we will introduce a so-called daily rate for each task.... We will pay only for time

actually worked and not for being present at the shipyard...." And earlier: At present, absences from work other than vacations exceed two months, which together with vacations means that each worker spends one quarter outside of the shipyard. How can one speak of enterprise efficiency in this situation?" I agree with the director that one cannot, but I ask that the director in turn agree with me that the bank, if it is to be a bank, can only be guided by economic efficiency.

And thus the bank did not loan money for the construction of a fourth ferry, which the shipyard is not finishing because no one wants to buy it. And further, the most important statement: the other Polish shipyards which have to deal with the identical bank rigors are somehow managing. Some are even doing very well; for example, the neighboring Gdansk Repair Shipyard. But they took independence and financial responsibility seriously given their awareness of the imbalance in the world shipbuilding industry. The structure of production was changed; use of assets was increased; etc.; to a large degree they did what the director of the Lenin Shipyards says in the first part of the interview when discussing their plans.

And finally the constant expectation that the size of a loan by the bank should correspond to the needs. In the seventh year of the economic reform, we have a right to expect that it is generally understood that the bank can loan only as much as it has. An increase in loans above the economic capabilities of the bank is tantamount to the emission of money without backing, creating another source of inflation. If the shortage of (inadequate amount of) materials, energy, and people is accepted as obvious, then a shortage of money is equally, or perhaps even more, justified. For then, it will turn out that someone who has money can purchase everything, without distribution or rationing. Inculcating the attitude that money is a scarce good will facilitate the solution of our economic difficulties, and today limiting the flow of money too rarely causes efforts to improve efficiency. There are still justified hopes that a faucet somewhere will leak.

13021

ROMANIA

Status of Exports in Metallurgy Discussed
27000101 Bucharest *REVISTA ECONOMICA*
in Romanian 13 May 88 pp 11, 12

[Article by Octavian Botez: "Ways of Increasing Efficiency in Foreign Trade Activities—Restructuring the Export List"]

[Text] Romania is one of the world's countries with a developed iron and steel industry (it is one of the 14 leading world producers), and its metallurgical industry will grow in the future at an annual average rate of around 6 percent, so that 20 million tons of steel will be

produced by 1990. As in other sectors, emphasis will be placed on the qualitative aspects of production and on application of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution.

The channeling and significant volume of investment in metallurgy have ensured the development of production facilities at existing enterprises, through rebuilding and modernization of old installations or creation of new departments outfitted with new equipment and marked by steadily increasing capacity and performance and quantitative characteristics on the leading edge of modern technology. At the same time, coordination of the production capacities of various sectors (furnaces, steel mills, blooming and finishing mills) has been ensured, to satisfy to an increasing extent the needs of the other sectors of the economy, which themselves are in the midst of development. Among the older plants, the Hunedoara integrated iron and steel complex has developed vigorously. At this complex new furnaces have been built, with capacities as great as 3,500 cubic meters, along with a coal tar chemical plant, and open-hearth-furnace steel mill, an electric furnace steel mill, and a blooming mill center with high finishing capacity. Development and modernization have also been accomplished at other ferrous metallurgy plants (Resita, Otelul Rosu, Cimpia Turzii), while important facilities for pipe manufacture have been created at Roman, Iasi, and Bucharest. However, the most significant achievement is represented by the building and opening for production of the Galati iron and steel complex, which is equipped with 1,700-cubic-meter furnaces, a steel mill based on oxygen converters, continuous casting systems, a slab mill, and a thick sheet rolling mill.

The main allied steel producing centers in Romania are Resita, Hunedoara, Galati, and especially the COS Tigraviste, a facility built for this purpose, and, for stainless steels, INOX Tigraviste. Special mention should be made of the particular importance of and the contribution made by COS Tigraviste. This plant has made a substantial contribution to the Romanian national economy in the production of alloy and high-alloy steels. This complex represents the most significant expression of efforts to produce steels of superior quality. It should be pointed out in this connection that production has started of metallurgical products designed to create conditions for adding output of products setting high quality standards, such as the Dacia 1300 passenger automobile, the Roman truck, and Rabcoek steam boilers.

Development of production in terms of quantity has been accompanied by structural improvement in output, that is, increase in the percentage of alloy steels produced by the electric process and extension of the LD process by means of the oxygen blast procedure. Also in the area of improvement in steel quality, mention should be made of production of new brands of steels with high strength at low temperatures and alloy steels for railroad cars, rails, and ball bearings.

Romania currently exports to more than 60 countries, a large part of the exports going to the socialist countries and to Japan, the German Federal Republic, the Belgium-Luxemburg Union, the USSR, France, the United States, and England. It is important to note that the Galati iron and steel complex supplies sheet metal for ships meeting the requirements of the majority of international registers, along with sheet metal for boilers complying with Soviet, British, Swedish, etc standards. It is a significant fact that Romania has overcome the conservatism of some shipyards, which are known for their reluctance to change sources of supply, penetrating the market and continuing to be a supplier of several highly regarded shipyards in the Federal Republic of Germany, France, The Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, and, Sweden. They present the advantage that they remain dependable outlets regardless of fluctuation in market conditions.

One persistent problem is that of improving the structure of exports of iron and steel products. At the same time, in view of the fact that the paramount criterion for judging a commercial operation is the efficiency of the operation, it is absolutely necessary to select only products whose profitability indicators justify exporting them. Consequently, during the last years of the 1986-1990 5-year plan and beyond to the year 2000, Romanian exports of iron and steel products should include standard grade sizes involving maximum utilization of raw materials. Other grades should be oriented above all toward domestic consumption, for manufacture of products competitive on foreign markets in the area of the machinebuilding industry.

The main responsibility for obtaining the most favorable prices possible is borne by personnel in the foreign trade system, in this instance including both the export manufacturer and the Metalimportexport foreign trade enterprise as regards marketing of rolled steel goods, which were the subject of our analysis. The changes in the product range structure of international trade in iron and steel products which will take place by the year 1990 because of increase in the complexity of demand on the part of the chief consuming sectors and as a result of changes in the geographic location of production facilities will vary with the different types of rolled goods. It has been estimated that flat rolled goods will represent a greater share of world exports in 1990 than in 1980 (36 percent as against 33 percent), as will also pipes and fittings (18 percent as against 15 percent), while the percentage of shaped rolled goods will decline (24 percent versus 29 percent), as well as the percentage of tinplate and other rolled metals (2 percent versus 5 percent).

The setting of actual international market prices for flat rolled goods of steel is a specific separate problem. This is so because typical prices are considered to be export quotations of the member countries of the Coal and Steel Economic Community (CSEC) and accordingly of the

Common Market. These CSEC quotations are representative, because the countries in the Community account for approximately 40 percent of world exports of flat rolled goods. The specialized journal **METAL BULLETIN**, which appears in London, twice a week (Monday and Friday) publishes the approximate prices charged by CSEC exporters in deliveries to third countries, FOB Antwerp (Belgium). The prices relate to a standard assortment of rolled goods of ordinary carbon steel. Contract prices differ from the CSEC approximate prices in response to the relationship between supply and demand. During slack market periods, and if large quantities are to be delivered, exporters grant rebates. The level of these rebates, which is kept confidential, varies with the market to be supplied. Markups from the level of the standard assortment are charged for assortments of rolled goods made with steels of superior quality (quality carbon steel with high mechanical properties, alloy steel, stainless and/or refractory steel). In the case of stainless and/or refractory steel the contract price, including markups, may be 5 to 8 times higher than the price of the standard assortment. Surcharges are also applied for additional processing (small or very large thicknesses, cutting at the sides or end, surface protection, pickling, lubrication, sandblasting, painting) and for unusual delivery conditions (very small batches, extremely fast deliveries, certificates for testing samples, special inspections and tests, etc.).

METAL BULLETIN also publishes information on the approximate prices of rolled steel products quoted on the Brussels Stock Exchange. These prices (quotations) are set following discussions in which the chief exporting firms in Belgium participate. The quotations for rolled steel products established weekly on this stock exchange relate to ordinary grades of steel delivered FOB Antwerp.

Lists of surcharges (markups) are drawn up by the chief commercial or manufacturing firms and are the result of long-entrenched practices. These lists are accepted by the majority of commercial firms. The price lists are revised periodically and they are not always applied intact, but rather as a function of market conditions.

In our study we examined three lists of surcharges:

1. The list of the European Cartel of Steel Producers, also known as the Benelux list of surcharges.
2. The list of surcharges drawn up by the **Fabrique de Fer Charleroi** in Belgium.
3. The list of surcharges given in the catalog of the Romanian iron and steel industry.

We concentrated in our analysis on the surcharges applied on the basis of the thickness, width, and length of flat rolled products of steel.

The first finding that we arrived at was that there are no basic differences between the Benelux and the **Fabrique de Fer Charleroi** lists. Some minor differences derive from the specific nature of costs at the Belgian factory in comparison to the average prices charged by manufacturers in the CSEC member countries.

Our second finding was that the surcharges asked on the international market reach significant levels, depending on the dimensions of the rolled steel materials. In exports of thick sheet metal, for example, the surcharges applied may be as high as 227 dollars per ton (about 50 percent of the base price) when sheet metal is ordered which is 3-4 millimeters thick and 600-800 millimeters wide, and 171 dollars per ton if it is 4-5 millimeters thick and 600-800 millimeters wide. The majority of the surcharges applied vary with thickness and width, ranging around 44 dollars per ton. As regards length, the base price is charged for lengths ranging from 6,000 to 10,000 millimeters and thickness of 7 to 20 millimeters. The surcharges reach their maximum of 23 dollars per ton for lengths of 16,000-18,000 millimeters and thicknesses exceeding 80 millimeters.

Our third finding, following examination of a number of contracts dating from 1981, 1982, and 1983 to determine how these surcharges are applied on the basis of thickness, width, and length of flat rolled steel products, was that these contracts reflected only an average price per ton in export, there being no prices differentiated on the basis of the dimensions of the rolled goods. Thus it appears that, from the methodological viewpoint, surcharges were not recorded separately in Romanian exports under those unfavorable market conditions on the basis of the dimensions (thickness, width, length) of rolled steel products.

The fourth finding which we arrived at in our study was that some foreign partners, who observed that Romanian failed to apply a firm policy over the period in question of adding surcharges based on the dimensions of flat rolled steel goods, negotiated an average price per contract and ordered larger amounts precisely of rolled products of particular thicknesses, widths, and lengths for which foreign firms demand larger surcharges.

The following must be done if the Metalimportexport Foreign Trade Enterprise is to be able to use the surcharge lists actively, on the basis of the dimensions of rolled products (thickness, width, length) and on that of other parameters of these products, to obtain foreign prices contributing to increase in the efficiency of Romanian exports even though a favorable market situation prevails at the international level. The manufacturer's (internal) catalog must contain a basic (reference) dimension as the starting point for calculation of markups, as is the case in the foreign lists of surcharges, as, for example, a thickness of 15-20 millimeters. At the same time, at the level of the integrated iron and steel enterprise, the manufacturer who exports these products, the effective costs should be reassessed on the basis of the

size of rolled products and the surcharges currently in effect should be correlated with those appearing in international price lists. The relative different level of prices expressed in foreign currency charged as a function of the importing countries and the amounts which can be exported to certain groups of countries make it necessary to improve market research activities and to determine in detail the import conditions of individual countries and groups of countries, so that it will be possible to increase by way of negotiation the contribution made by foreign trade personnel to increase in the efficiency of export of Romanian iron and steel products.

In contrast to the recent trend toward narrowing the assortment range in Romanian exports to products with superior marketing potential (from the viewpoint of the price mark-ups obtainable), it appears to be necessary to add to the list of standard grade sizes marked by higher efficiency.

As regards flat rolled steel products, it would be useful, considering the factors represented by foreign market demands and effort to achieve appreciable increase in export efficiency, to ensure prompt adaptation to demand from the viewpoint of standard grade sizes and from that of the quality of steels (brands of steel).

In connection with exports of products shaped to obtain hot rolled steel sections, the percentage of exports of light steel sections should be increased, as well as those of

sections of special steels, especially of brands of alloy steels. In our opinion, there should also be an increase in the percentage of exports of cold drawn bars and special sections, of exports of double sections 1.5 and 2 millimeters thick, and of exports of bars and sections of special steels, especially brands of alloy steels (high-speed steel, alloy tool steel, stainless steel).

In the area of exports of steel pipes, there will be an increase in the marketing of structural pipes of alloy steels and of high-strength steels, oil industry down pipes of superior quality steel brands and of pipes for pipelines with diameters up to 14-3/4 inches, as well as a size assortment of structural and plumbing pipes, especially thin-walled grades and pipes with exterior shielding in the form of paint and zinc plating. Steps should also be taken to increase exports of pipes involving a high degree of processing (stainless steel pipes and other special pipes), and also to start production of new assortments of pipes for leading industrial sectors (nuclear technology, aviation, etc).

Hence there are many ways in which the efficiency of exports can be increased. They relate both to organization of domestic production and improvement in the structure and quality of the products marketed and to improvement in foreign marketing.

6115

POLAND

School-Age Population Increases; New Solutions Called For

26000474a Warsaw *ZYCIE WARSZAWY* in Polish
1-2 June 88 p 9

[Article by Maria Olszewska: "In the Capital: Demographics Prepare Surprises, Meanwhile: Children Grow More Rapidly Than Schools"]

[Text] Construction of at least 29 schools and 40 preschools would make it altogether unnecessary to bus Warsaw children to their classes in facilities far away and would greatly curtail bussing and other transporting of children in the towns and parishes (gminas) of Warsaw Voivodship. This construction would also make it possible for about 65 percent of the capital's youngest residents to receive preschool care.

What sort of prospects face the council which we are about to elect in less than 3 weeks? Well, there will be 8,000 more pupils than this past school year in the 460 elementary schools, which have already been teaching more than 260,000 children. Indeed, the so-called teaching base to instruct them has increased. The investment plan provided six schools (in the settlements of Goclaw, Jelonki, Wilanow II, and Wolica, as well as in Wolomin and Piaseczno) and the expansion of two others (in Lesznowola and Zabki).

Meanwhile, the Conditions

Nonetheless, the conditions have not improved. The sections have become jammed, and each classroom is more crowded, especially in Mokotow and North Praga, as well as Piaseczno, Legionow, and Nowy Dwor, among others. There are more double sessions, especially in some of the newer settlements, to the point where some schools are on two full sessions.

The plague of children in the capital and their parents who must take their little ones to school will be extended this school year to 833 more children. The largest number of small travellers are taken to school in Mokotow, but other places have the problem too. Overall, this group numbers over 14,000.

The demographic high, which is filling up the elementary schools, has already begun to pour into the secondary schools: this school year nearly 2,000 more pupils were enrolled in the freshman class than during the year before. Nearly 4,000 more students are being taught throughout the whole system of post-elementary schools, and not a single new place has been created.

It is even worse in the preschools. Residents of Warsaw are quite familiar with this problem, which is a daily nuisance. A still larger group than last year had their

applications rejected during the recent process of qualifying for enrollment this coming year, but after all during this time more than a dozen preschools were built or expanded, thereby creating an increase of nearly 2,000 places.

This has not been without the assistance of social activists from the cells of the National School Assistance Effort (Narodowy Czyn Pomocy Szkole), whose funds were instrumental in preschool construction in Mlochow and Bieniewice. Out of the 135 NCPS volunteer committees operating in the voivodship, 88 are currently engaged in investments to construct, expand, or repair educational facilities, most of them located in suburban Warsaw parishes (gminas), the larger ones, for example, being in Duczki, Chotomow, Bieniewice, and Zabki. This calendar year more than 40 new classrooms will be completed.

Surely this is already a contribution to the ambitious tasks listed in the new people's council election platform, as well as those nine schools (including two in Ursynow, in addition to those in Wawrzyszew and Bernowo) and 14 preschools (along with, for example, housing for teachers, gymnasiums, and school swimming pools) to be completed this year from investments which the School and Education Superintendent's Office (Kuratorium Oswiaty i Wychowania) helped to fund, and there are nearly 70 more under construction, including 20 new elementary schools and six expanded ones. Of course, there are also further plans, such as beginning construction this year on three new school buildings and four preschools.

Issues for Council Members

Financial prospects, however, are undercutting this effort. The outlays allocated from the voivodship budget and local budgets are not meeting the needs. There are no concrete prospects for housing cooperatives to contribute their share to the investments. The amended regulations on the financing of housing construction do not mention the issue of granting credit to build educational facilities in the housing developments and neighborhoods, and this factor retards the preparation of new investments. The issue is up to the new council members.

No matter how well this all goes—everyone knows that it is not merely a question of funding but also of materials and labor, for example—there is no chance of improving conditions in the capital's education and day care system by the year 1990. This is not such a long time, but afterwards... Afterwards we will begin to feel the demographic effects in a somewhat different way. The demographic forecasts to the year 2000 and beyond clearly project a decline in the number of children under 6 years of age, as well as a gradual decline in those under age 16. "Raport Warszawa 2000" says that even with a smaller investment effort than in the past, we will be able to improve preschool care and enroll all children 5 and 6

years of age and half of all the other children. A similar situation prevails in respect to conditions in the elementary schools. By the year 2000, children will no longer be transported, and very few schools will have more than a single session.

On the other hand, the network of post-elementary schools facing the current demographic peak will need to be expanded by at least 20 percent. Of course the report also talks about changing the instruction profile by introducing modern facilities and equipment, by creating conditions to give especially gifted children a special start, and so on, but this does not alter the fact that we must begin to build right away for the post-elementary students.

And this means that first of all the education planners must take another look at the capital's needs in this area. Should we maintain the impetus to expand the system of preschools and elementary schools needed so much today, inasmuch as the present crowding will be eased in the years to come? How should investments be accelerated for facilities at the secondary level, in order to avoid facing a hopeless situation in a few years?

Experience shows, nonetheless, that schools grow more slowly than children, and this too is a matter for the new members of the people's councils to decide.

10790

'Equal Opportunity' for Youth, Education Factor Viewed

26000474b Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
4, 5 June 88 p 3

[Interview with Prof Maria Jarosz, sociologist and author of "Nierownosci Społeczne" (Social Inequalities) (1984), "Bariery Zyciowe Młodzieży" (Barriers in Life Facing Youth) (1986), and "Dzorganizacja w Rodzinie i Społeczeństwie" (Dysfunctional Behavior in the Family and Society) (1987); by Krystyna Lubelska: "Inheriting Inequality"]

[Text]

[Question] Who a person is and how successful that person is are determined not only by the person but also by the coincidence of various circumstances of fate. Professor Jarosz, in Poland who has the greatest chance of being successful? The talented person, or the person who comes from a wealthy, educated family?

[Answer] The odds come down in favor of the people from good families. The inheritance of status, and therefore a definite place in society, is a characteristic phenomenon in our country. The environment into which a person is born accompanies that person throughout life. It is extremely difficult to get around it, to exchange it for a better one, thereby climbing a rung up the social ladder.

[Question] But is it not common all over the world for people to help their children along the way to a career? Take Kirk Douglas and Michael Douglas, Henry Fonda and Jane Fonda, Alain Delon and Anthony Delon. These are only some of the better-known instances of family success.

[Answer] A career, of course, is linked in a very essential way to social status. It is also true that all over the world coming from a family that is well off gives a person a better start, but this phenomenon is not so universal, established, and decisive elsewhere as it is in our country.

[Question] Talent is also passed on.

[Answer] Yes, but this in no way means that the more talented or gifted people are necessarily born into families of the intelligentsia. Nature distributes talent and ability rather evenly, we might even say justly. There is as much talent and giftedness among workers' and peasants' families as among the families of the intelligentsia. Children from blue-collar and rural environments, however, find it far more difficult to make it solely on their abilities. They often are simply not able to present themselves. They lack the self-confidence, the necessary resistance. There are cases, of course, where children from poor environments achieve success, but it is very rarely that this happens. Most often their possibilities are ruined right in the very first years of school.

[Question] The net lets diamonds slip through.

[Answer] This is the very difference in the possibilities of getting through in Poland and in other Western countries. There are appropriate grounds for comparison with France and Scandinavia. It is decidedly easier in those countries. The whole system of education is set up to catch the most talented pupils.

[Question] Barriers in advancement are a specifically Polish feature at the present time.

[Answer] Not at all, but it is more noticeable here than in other countries, especially since equal opportunity in life is written into the system of our principles of social policy. It should therefore be easier to jump over those hurdles in Poland than in the capitalist countries, but that is not so.

[Question] And how is it in other socialist countries?

[Answer] The way it is in Poland. In Hungary they even tried to counteract this situation by creating special schools for gifted children coming from workers' families, but in time these schools were dominated by children from families of the intelligentsia, so the experiment did not work. That is a pity.

[Question] Doesn't the principle of equal opportunity include the egalitarianism so out of favor at the present time?

[Answer] It is simply a question of a person's not having to be reconciled to a worse position in life or worse prospects simply because of the baggage of certain characteristics, skills, or abilities.

[Question] In wartime such a person did not have to be reconciled to them.

[Answer] Advancement in those years was the rule. The child of a peasant became a skilled worker. The child of a blue-collar worker became a member of the intelligentsia. In those days, Poland was really a country of people going to school and quickly leaping up the ladder of social advancement. This dynamic rush was not hampered by anything, the race to achieve a better place in the social hierarchy than that of the parents came to an end in the 1960's. From that time on we have been dealing with a stable situation of inherited social status.

[Question] But aren't we noticing some greater equality of opportunity in Poland's current situation? Education is not the only thing that counts.

[Answer] I think that still greater polarization will take place, because it so happens that private firms are opening up mainly to the young, enterprising, educated engineers, lawyers, and others. On the other hand, even if the owners of the shop are not graduates, they come from families with money, because it is not possible to establish a business without it. The people who have what we call connections are also at an advantage, because in our country, it means a great deal to have connections. These are therefore usually people who have already some sort of position in our society. They are not beginning with nothing.

[Question] I agree with you that in the past it was extremely important to have the right connections, but now I have the impression that money has replaced these factors.

[Answer] That is not true. Research on newly established private businesses shows that it is still essential to know the right people. Those who go into business usually have them on their own or have help from their families.

[Question] Has a college degree become less important?
[Answer] People no longer see higher education as the sole means of social advancement. Now people are seeing education increasingly as a value in and of itself. Many people say: I can open up my own store or workshop, but first I am going to finish my college studies.

[Question] So then, what good is a degree?

[Answer] The quality of life is something else. It is not enough for the educated person to be aware of having money. That person will also try to spend the money somehow on personal development and pleasure. I think that in our society the ideology of "being" will continue to hold sway over that of "having."

[Question] Nevertheless, fewer and fewer people are trying to get into institutions of higher education.

[Answer] Research shows that recently one out of every two or three elementary school graduates from families of the intelligentsia was getting into college, but the figure is one out of 14 for students from workers' families and one out of every 23 for the offspring of peasants. How can a student apply to college, when the person's future has already been determined in elementary school? Actually everything depends on the environment into which the person was born. In terms of one's chances in life, it is best to be born in a large city into a family of the intelligentsia with a father in a high position.

[Question] The ability to express oneself properly, a knowledge of foreign languages, and contact with books are all tremendously important starting out.

[Answer] Of course, when the child goes to school from a home where the proper words and the basic principles of behavior and getting along in the world have not been taught, a sort of demeaning label sticks to that child. This is precisely a process of social branding, or imprinting. The person who has been shoved to one side usually does not have the strength to throw off or reject that label. Therefore it is not that people do not want to educate the child. Often they do not see the possibility of doing so.

[Question] The number of workers' and farmers' children who complete their college studies is still probably smaller than the number entering college.

[Answer] Once these children make it to college, they usually stay there. Before they made it into college, they had to overcome many barriers and difficulties. This creates greater internal energy and resistance.

[Question] Especially given the fact that they had to deal with adverse conditions at home.

[Answer] Yes, but that is not the only thing. My research shows that there is sort of a negative situation syndrome, made up of poor material, educational, cultural, and health conditions. These adverse conditions are cumulative in poor families to the same extent that good conditions accumulate, resulting in better possibilities.

[Question] What sort of families are afflicted by the negative situation syndrome?

[Answer] Recently I conducted research on families facing the gravest privation during the second stage of the reform. My investigations show that things are the most difficult for people on pensions and annuities, single-parent families with many children, and young families.

[Question] There is the notion that the young are helped by their parents.

[Answer] Indeed, in our country help from parents is all but written into the system of social assistance. Parents support their children financially, give them an apartment or help them obtain one, and make contributions toward the purchase of a car. Those young families who do not receive help from their parents are really in a very bad situation. Not only are they worse off materially, but they feel even more frustrated when they compare themselves to people their own age who do receive help from their parents.

[Question] Young people have a general sense of frustration.

[Answer] And it is not surprising, because their standard of living is worse now than it ever was, even during the period right after the war. People usually say that young people expect a lot, but in the days of the great reconstruction period there were more opportunities for a professional career, housing, and social advancement than there are now. Young people who are not receiving help from their parents are in the greatest danger of poverty and all that goes with it.

[Question] So then we cannot talk about equal opportunity?

[Answer] Nor should we, because this still further deepens the disappointment and bitterness. Instead of emphasizing this equality, we should start trying to even out the differences, even if it is only the most conspicuous ones.

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